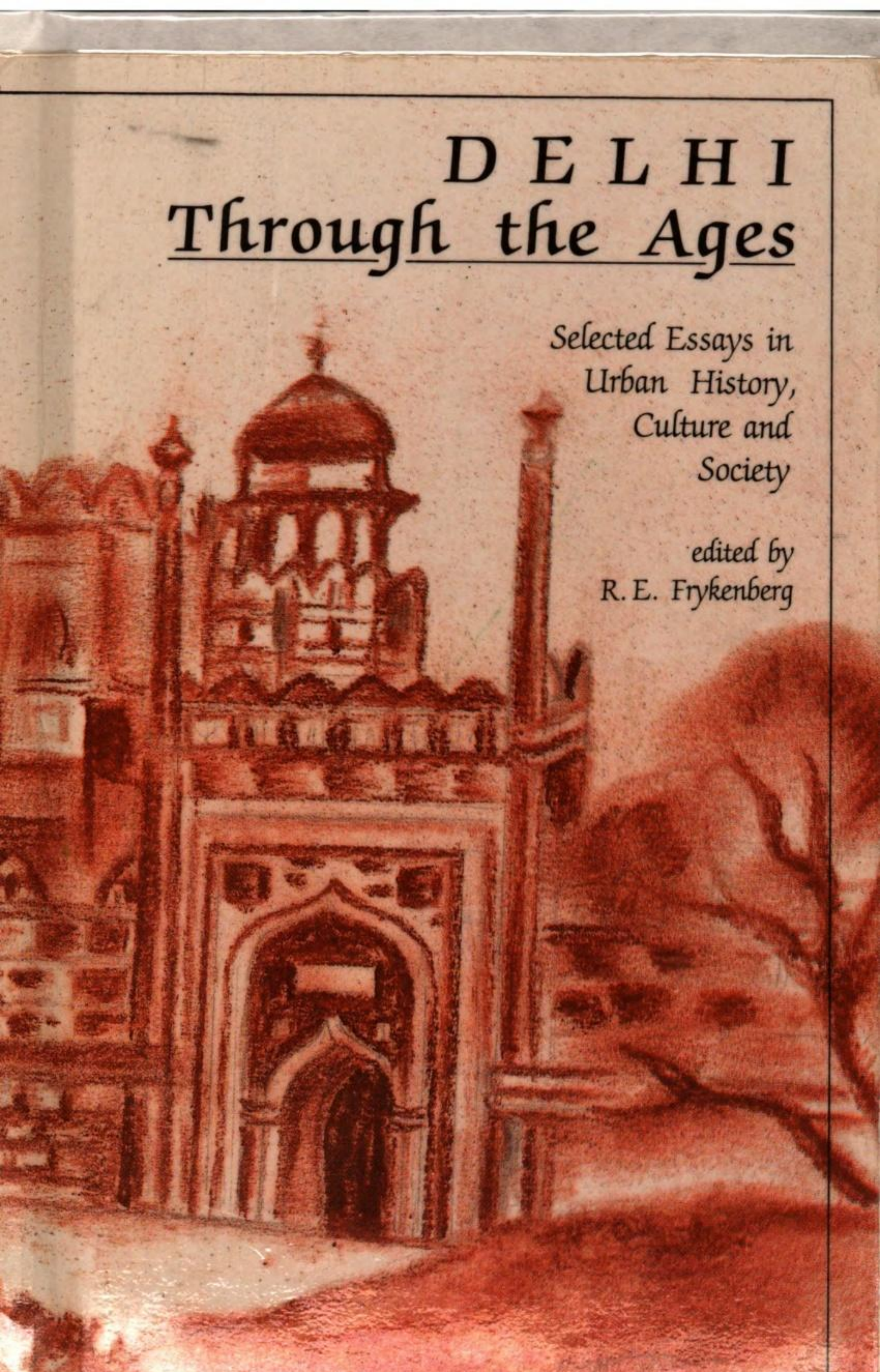
DELHI
Through the Ages

Selected Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society

edited by
R. E. Frykenberg



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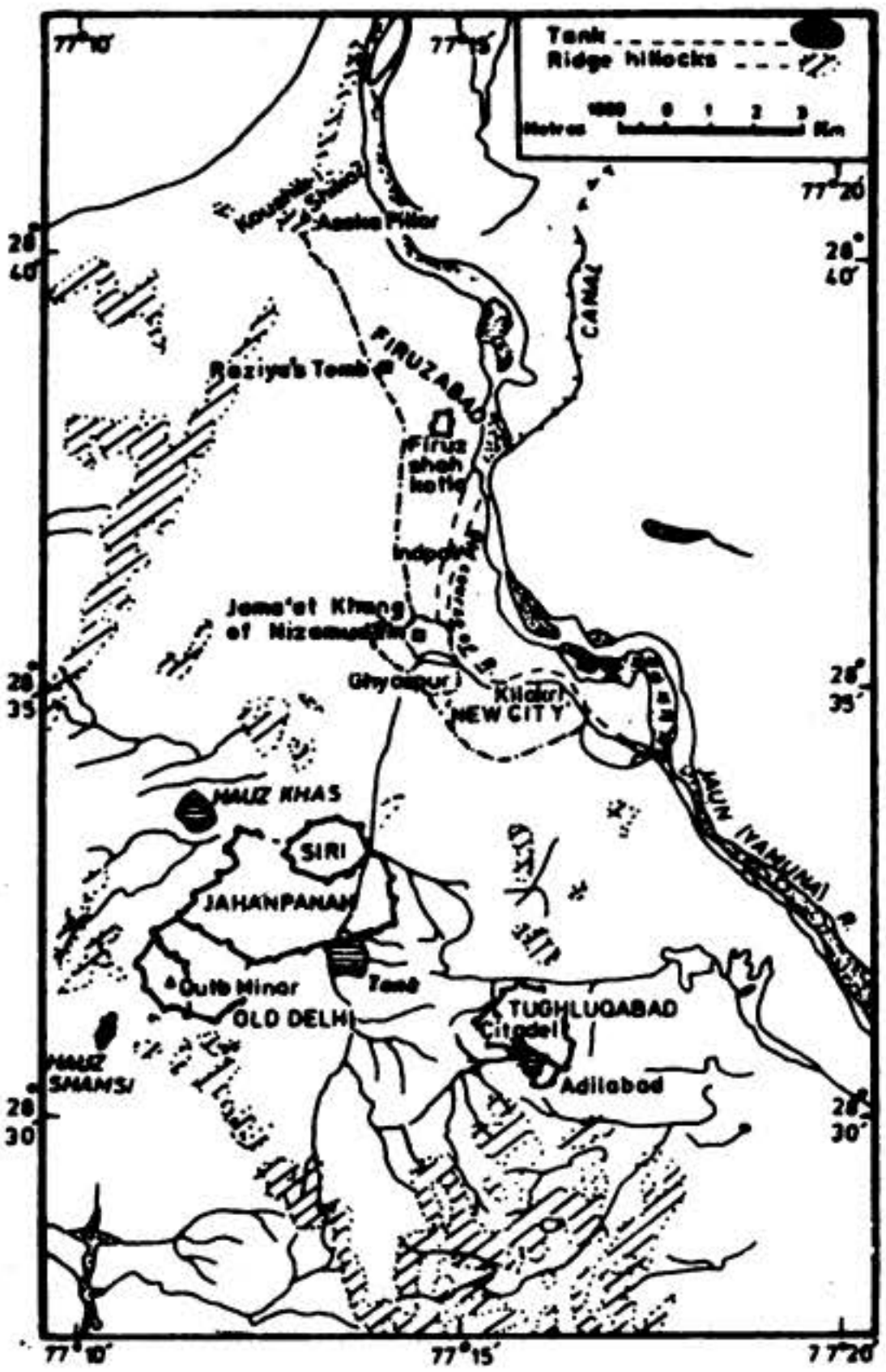
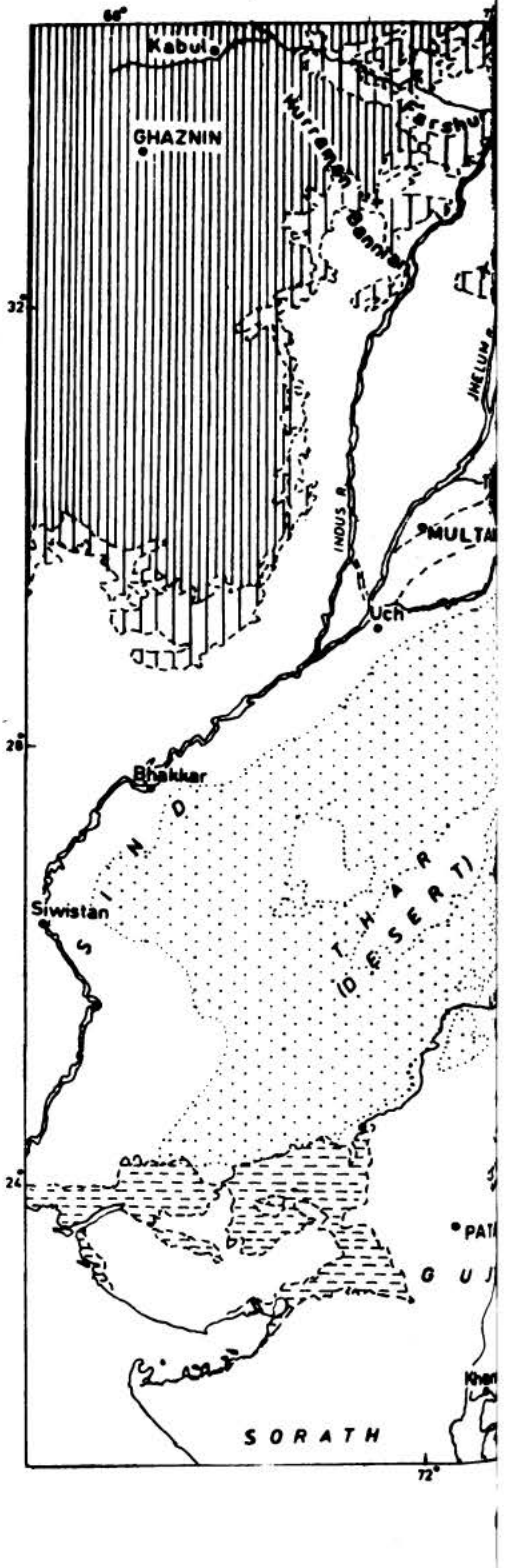
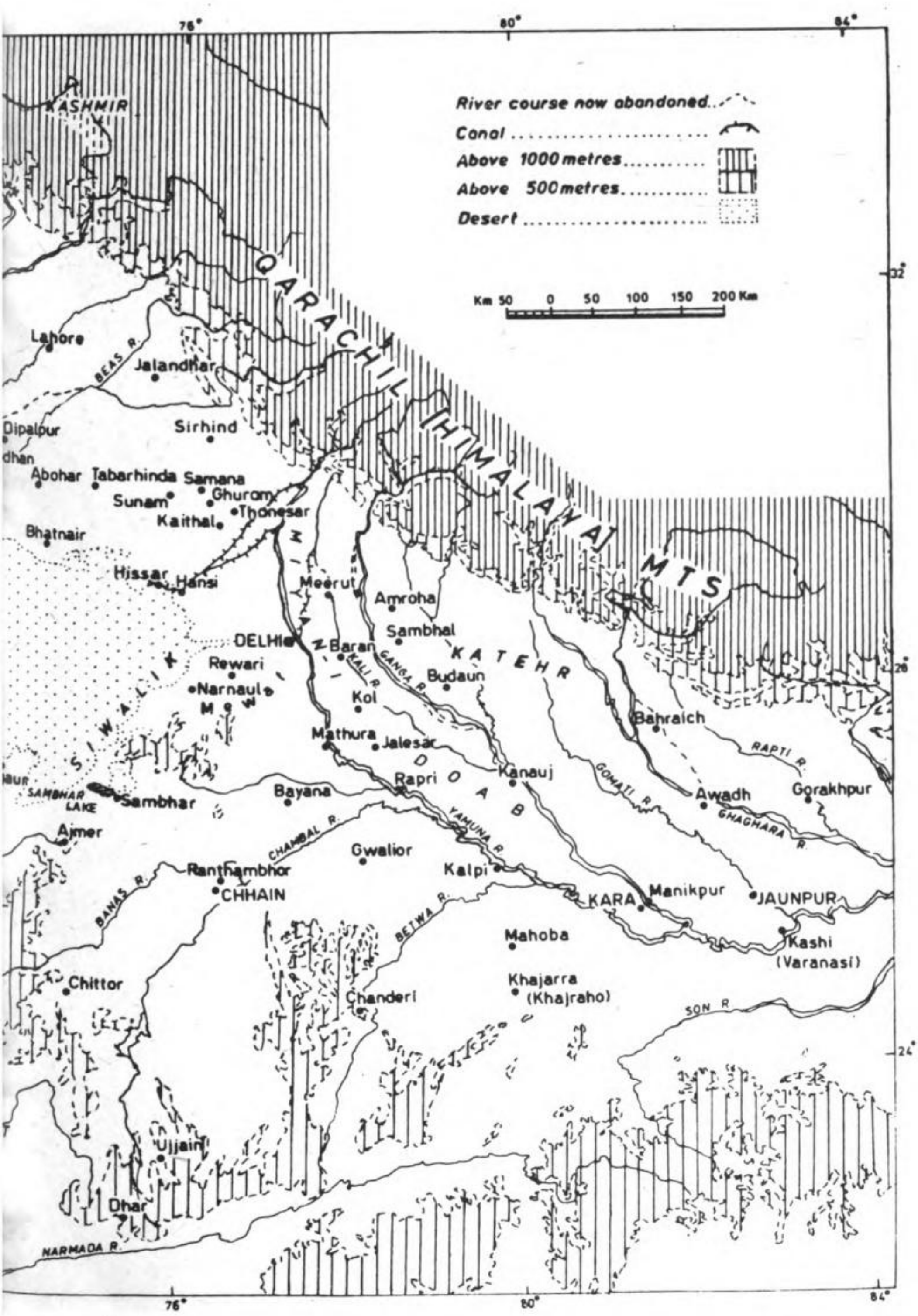


Map I. Cities of Delhi
14th century A.D.



Maps by Faiz Habib



Map II. Delhi and the surrounding region 13th–15th centuries A.D.

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PREFACE TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

The story of this book and its construction is simply told. Some students of Percival Spear pondered what to do in honour of their old mentor. As his *chelas* or *murids*, they wanted to celebrate his fifty years of distinguished scholarship on India. No focal point seemed more fitting than the pulsating city which their guide had loved more than any other and in which he had spent the early decades of his career. He himself, captivated by the city's many pasts, as seen in ruins and shadow, had written two short books about Delhi: *Delhi, A Historical Sketch* (Bombay, OUP, 1937 and 1945) and *Delhi, Its Monuments and History* (Bombay, OUP, 1943 and 1945). Each was a finely crafted gem, serving to remind the general public of Delhi's historic importance. Spear's greatest scholarly work, *Twilight of the Mughals* (1951), was also centered on Delhi. It was not difficult, therefore, for the idea and the focus of this book to come together.

The enterprise began with an international conference. The event, a seminar-workshop held on 31 October and 1 November 1979 on the campus of the University of Wisconsin—Madison, was a public celebration of scholarship and of contributions to our understanding of India's past. Papers focusing on various aspects of 'Delhi Through the Ages' were presented and discussed. The occasion was enlivened by delightful and vigorous intellectual interaction, with Percival Spear himself at the centre. Among the twenty or more scholars who took part in this event were many of Spear's students; all who took part were, by their very contributions, giving tribute to the position among historians of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka), which Spear had occupied. He had become a dean of Indian History for his day, especially among modern historians of India in the West. Alas, Spear himself never lived to see the book which had been organized in his name. Swiftly and without warning, he passed from among us (after a short stay in hospital, on 17 December 1982). The volume was published as a memorial to his work, a tribute to the high ideals and scholarly standards for which he stood.

High standards notwithstanding, Spear was eclectic and tolerant: inclusive rather than exclusive of styles and views other than his own. A modest person, he felt that historians needed to exercise 'humility in dealing with facts'; he did not try to set up a 'Spear School', or a 'Cambridge School', of Indian historical thought. In the same spirit, covering a wide variety of perspectives and subjects, the essays found in this volume are manifestly different from each other. However, while a number of essays by Spear's students are included here, one gap is especially notable. No essay by Eric Stokes, the most distinguished of all Spear's students, was possible. He is singled out because, while he had indicated a wish to make a contribution to the volume, he was struck down. The fatal illness moved very rapidly: he was gone by the end of the year. The late Smuts Professor at Cambridge perfectly combined and exemplified all those qualities of scholarship and humanity which Spear himself symbolized. Had he lived, his essay would have embellished the entire collection.

How then can one characterize the approach of Spear and his students to historical scholarship? First, Spear assumed that there were no neat and simple answers: that the cultural interactions occurring in India were too highly complex and difficult to be fully comprehended. This had so far not been recognized in the older and more conventional historiography. He would, no doubt, have been even less satisfied with the glib and over-simplified trends evident in many of the newer historiographies of our day. All too neat reductions—*reductio ad absurdum*—were to be seen as a menace to better historical understanding. Of such menaces, one approach to India's history was seen as especially pernicious: the tendency to regard the interactions between India and Britain (and the West), especially the impact of Britain upon India, in negative and destructive terms. This was no more worthy of serious credence than the opposite tendency which it had replaced; both are appropriately caricatured in slogans like 'We came! We saw! We conquered (and civilized the natives)!' or 'They came! They conquered! They exploited! Damn them!' Similarly, epithets about 'capitalistic and colonialistic exploitation' merely caricature the Raj. This uncritical approach, whatever its pretensions, was too Eurocentric (and, indeed, too ethnocentric) for Spear, though his response

to the railings of those who pursued and pushed such views tended to be profoundly gentle, mingled with a touch of good humour, irony, and kindness.

He held the view that multiple depths of complexity and diversity in the cultural interaction between Europe and India had led to something which might be described as an 'Indo-European' or even better perhaps as an 'Anglo-Indian' synthesis. The British or the 'colonial' impact had never been as unidimensional nor unidirectional as many writers still seem to think.

Spear's greatest work, his *Twilight of the Mughals* (1951) was a remarkably deft blend of artistry and science. Depicting Delhi's plight during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it portrayed the sufferings and travails of Delhi's people against a tapestry background of the city's exquisite beauty and regal majesty.

After the Great Revolt of 1857, after the last Mughal had been sent off into exile in Burma, came the barbarities of the industrial age: two great corridors of demolition cut through the Old City (Shahjahanabad), extending westward and southward from the Red Fort. And even in our own day, there are fresh demolitions of things historic and old. Great flyovers and huge sports stadiums, the demands of urban transit and popular sport, overshadow the remains of empires. And all through these ages, Delhi has survived. The shells of its many ages are plain for the eye to see. As in other times, the metropolitan centre as centre of imperial/national power stands unchallenged.

While the past achievements and challenges of Delhi's people are the focus of this volume, by implication, the essays also point to challenges of the present and the future. For the most part, each essay may be seen as representative of some recent line of historical research; it may also be seen as suggestive of further investigations yet to be pursued. One must remember that, within this century alone, the population of Delhi has grown over twentyfold (from 240,000 in 1911 to over six million in 1991) and that, as a consequence, the sites of all the previous cities of Delhi have now become encompassed by or rather engulfed within the larger metropolitan area. Rapid development has made the Delhi/New Delhi 'conurbation' the third-largest urban complex of India (after Calcutta and Bombay). Therefore the importance of deepening our understanding of the historical

context out of which this great city has emerged, has become all the more apparent.

Percival Spear was the scholar whose career demonstrated his deep affection and concern for the people of Delhi and provided the inspiration for this volume, but it is my editor at the OUP who, in the end, prevented that inspiration from becoming moribund, and who is responsible for its continuing life in this new paperback edition. Another person whose love for the city inspired the editing of this volume was Narayani Gupta. These three individuals, along with all those colleagues who wrote the essays and then waited patiently for the first edition of this volume to appear, have been my instructors. They have shown me more and taught me more things about the grand old city than I had thought possible, awakening my imagination to the sights and sounds of the cities and peoples who once walked and talked in places where now there is only stillness and silence, and in places where the noises of modern traffic are louder than ever before. Finally, one must acknowledge the nameless ones, those beyond number, who have taught me things about their city and how it is that they suffer and thrive within its environs.

R.E.F.
Washington, D.C.
14 April 1992

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THE STUDY OF DELHI
An Historical Introduction

R. E. FRYKENBERG

Historical interest in Delhi is not inspired by any especially great antiquity which the city itself can claim. Indeed, if one compares Delhi with many of the great and historic cities of the world whose chronicles of continuous city life are virtually unbroken and clearly documented, it is apparent that age alone is certainly *not* what has made Delhi significant. This is true even though archaeological evidence and recent artefactual finds are constantly pushing our knowledge about the existence of urban life in the Delhi area further and further back into the remote past.

If age alone does not explain the long-continuing historical interest which Delhi has inspired, what is it that has inspired such interest? The answer lies in its historic role. Interest arises from the fact that, over and over again and for so long and so repeatedly, Delhi has been the centre or 'seat' of empire. As the very hub of an imperial *mahachakra*, Delhi has been the site for a succession of cities, each of which served as the capital or citadel or centre of a vast domain. This has been so for a thousand years, at the very least. What is more, the ruins of almost all previous cities of Delhi are still visible. They are still there to remind us of the power and glory which once was and is now gone. They remind us of the ephemeral and transient, of how all earthly power and glory crumbles and decays. (They provide us also with a veritable museum of splendour now gone—a gallery of architectural grandeur. Indeed, they chronicle successive stages in the development of great buildings and in the construction of grand edifices, art forms, and strategic fortresses. Their silent stones speak long after other tongues have ceased.)

But, if this is so, then why this place? Why did city after city

rise on the same site? Or, put differently, why were so many cities abandoned in the same place, why abandoned in such close proximity? Why were not the old ruins simply rebuilt or restored and then reinhabited? Why were so many dwellings abandoned for good, never again to be used, even by the poorer and lower elements of urban society? In a land where monarchs seldom have hesitated to move their places of residence, not to mention their moving entire imperial establishments as well as the urban complexes which surround them: in a country where emperors frequently spent as much as half of each year under canvas—their imperial courts regularly oscillating between city and camp and their imperial canopies as often tents of cloth as tents of stone—there is simply no denying the fact that, over and over again, one dynasty after another has returned to Delhi and planted its standard there.

Many disputes have been occasioned as to why this is so and many disputes still rage over this question. Yet a rather straightforward and simple answer seems sufficient. This is a factor connected to the very essence of imperial power and rulership. The area itself, the very *location*, together with various geopolitical and physical and strategic attributes connected to this location, was what mattered. And what were these attributes? They were, and are, those connected to factors most necessary for a continuous command over the plains of Hindustan (if not of the subcontinent at large). Continuous command required provision for the contingencies of maintaining both a firm internal control and a strong external defence. Between exertion of sufficient control to maintain rulership over domains south and eastwards across one of the world's largest alluvial plains, all the way down to the Sundarbans on the Bay of Bengal, and an extension of military force north and westwards beyond the Khyber to the Kabul Gorge, a certain careful balance of resources was required. Delhi provided the crucial fulcrum for such a balance. It was a strong position for the gathering of resources and for the deployment of such resources, in either direction or for either purpose.[1]

Within a roughly triangular plain lie all the ruins and sites of all the previous cities of Delhi, together with the metropolitan cores of what are now known as 'Old' and New Delhi. This triangle stretches from where the northern end of the Ridge—as

the last, expiring outlier of the Aravalli range—meets the Yamuna river, south to where a low spur cuts off from the Ridge and runs laterally eastward in a broken line across to the same Yamuna. An older 'Old' Delhi—the original 'Old Delhi'—lies upon the rocky spur itself, at the point where its western end breaks away from the Ridge. Another old site, that of Tughlakabad, lies midway along this same spur (running along the base of the triangle). All other sites lie northward, within the triangular plain itself.

A position of strategic strength was required. To find such a position on what was one of the flattest plains on earth was no easy matter. Such a position had to possess at least three crucial features. First, the position had to be strongly defensible within its own immediate perimeters. The Delhi triangle, with its immediate proximity both to the escarpment of the Ridge and to the ever-flowing currents of the river Yamuna, possessed just what was necessary. The escarpment, together with its hinterland deserts of Rajasthan, promised access to unlimited amounts of redstone building material. The continuous flow of water promised a reliable supply, sufficient for drinking, irrigation, and commerce. Fortresses and fortified cities could be constructed, either near the Ridge or near the river, but preferably near both. A copious and reliable supply of water, at least for drinking, has always been a prime prerequisite for the security of any big or important city. Not only that, but a river as a regular resource for irrigation and a regular avenue for commerce holds no less attraction. The river Yamuna begins to make its pivoting turn, away from the mountains and toward the Gangetic plain down to the Bay of Bengal, as it reaches Delhi. We also know, from other evidence, that in earlier times the river flowed further to the west and ran closer to or alongside the Ridge than it does now. Moreover, as its bed gradually shifted eastwards, so did the succession of cities which followed. Indeed, from the use of diversion canals and by the construction of large lakes or tanks, we know that constant attempts were made to assure abundant supplies of water. Quite clearly, concern over regularity and sufficiency of water was a recurring preoccupation with the rulers of Delhi. At the same time, the river's proximity brought agricultural and commercial benefits. Irrigation of the rich champaign of the Doab brought lush harvests; and river traffic,

extended to its farthest reach, rarely brought goods beyond Delhi. But these economic benefits were, of themselves, neither unique nor crucial. Attractive as such benefits may have been, Delhi's primary importance lay more in the military, political, and strategic advantages which it offered. (After all, similarly rich agricultural and commercial benefits were possible all along the Gangetic plain.)

Second, the position had to be such that it could not be conveniently or easily outflanked. An enemy force could not afford simply to pass by Delhi or to leave a strongly fortified and powerful Delhi in its rear. The risks of cut communications and lost logistic support were too great. Delhi, located at a critical point, where the narrowing Gangetic plain gets pinched between the impinging Aravalli hills and Rajasthan desert on the south and the encroaching foothills of the great mountain ranges to the north, commanded a broad corridor between the Panjab and Hindustan proper. Any powerful concentration of forces, supported by strong imperial resources in Delhi, could patrol this broad corridor of plains, and thereby, readily interdict or at least seriously hinder the movement of alien or hostile forces coming from either direction. No prudent commander of an invading army nor any astute pretender to imperial sway could afford to ignore or to overlook Delhi.

Thirdly, as already indicated, a strong position in the Delhi triangle would provide any imperial ruler with a crucial pivot on which to turn both his sway and his survival. The preservation of domestic tranquillity in his provinces 'down country' and the ability to put up an adequate defence against foreign invaders coming upon him from 'up country' would each heavily depend upon his ability to garner resources in Delhi and to deploy strength from this pivotal citadel. Without a position of power within the triangle itself, such pivotal deployments of forces in either direction, or even in both directions at once, might not be possible. Therefore, in order to take the fullest advantage of the strategic importance of Delhi, a regime would have had to be large enough to command human and natural resources on a truly imperial scale. Anything less would usually be insufficient to meet challenges of either type—much less of both types simultaneously. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Delhi could also quickly become the 'graveyard' of empires. For, once ability

to organize resources proved inadequate, the tables could be turned. Then what might have served as a position of strength could become a position of weakness. A weak Delhi might then find itself open to attack from one side or another, perhaps even from both sides together. Under such circumstances, a once formidable power would find itself hemmed in and eventually crushed. Delhi's earth would then claim another imperial 'grave' and the sceptre of imperial sway would either pass to other hands or wait while a 'time of troubles' worked out its logic of rapine and desolation.

Finally, there is the matter of mystique and of prestige—the magic of repeated success. Once a city had been established here, in this place, and once a tradition of continual strength and success became long associated with such a place, it began to gather a kind of hallowed reputation, an aura quite beyond all reality. The very name of this place, however much it might have been changed over the centuries, would also become hallowed, and intrinsically identified with imperial sway. Thus, even such names as Indraprastha, Purana Qila, or Lal Kot came to convey some of this magic. But no name has carried more of this magic, at least during the last millennium, than 'Delhi'.* This was true insomuch that any ruler of Delhi was thought to hold sway over Hindustan while, at the same time, any ruler who truly did hold Hindustan could not be considered to hold a secure or true sway until he also held Delhi. Thus, for whatever reason and by whatever combination of factors a ruler came to power in India, no ruler could be *seen* as Ruler of India unless and until his citadel was indeed fixed at Delhi. Moreover, to read of the hosts which have camped on the site(s) or tramped in the vicinity of the Delhi triangle is like reading a variant version of World History itself.**

II

This history itself goes back and disappears into the mists of legend. While the earliest records are gone and fragmentary artefacts and ruins are almost completely mute, there is evidence

* The Hindi transliteration is Dilli and the Urdu is Dehli.

** From the time of Alexander the Great.

to indicate that Delhi has an antiquity of at least three thousand years and that it may eventually even be traced back to the civilization of the Indus Valley. In popular imagination, however, Delhi is connected with Indraprastha, the fabled city of the Pandavas. There is no direct evidence to verify this connection. Yet its epic drama, as recited in the *Mahabharata*, is linked to the site of the Purana Qila. The age of this site, beyond question the oldest of Delhi, is continually being pushed further back by new excavations. Finely made Painted Grey Ware and large baked bricks have been dug up. Artefacts of this type have also been found at other sites identified with the Epic Age. Indraprastha or 'Inderpat' was one of the five 'pats' or 'places' around which raged the War of Kurukshetra—the other four being Panipat, Sonepat, Tilpat, and Baghpat (all of which are known). Indeed, the very fact that a village called 'Inderpat' was for so many centuries (and even until this century) located within or adjacent to the Purana Qila has tended to provide further popular support for this tradition. Several strata of rubble also confirm a continuous urban existence at this site, even though many centuries are clouded in obscurity.[2]

The so-called 'Seven Cities' of Delhi provide by and large, no more accurate a description of Delhi's history than do the 'seven hills' ascribed to other ancient cities. In fact, if one is more accurate, something much closer to fourteen distinct cities, concentrated in three main areas of urban population density, can be identified. Of these, the 'seven cities' are in reality only the successive citadels (or 'cities') which were built during medieval times.

Legends connect the first of these to the Tomar Rajput prince, Raja Anangpal. Heralded in bardic tradition (*Prithvirajaraso*) as the 'founder' of Delhi, he moved his capital from Suraj Kund (at the head of the stone-strewn little valley leading to Anangpur) to Lal Kot. The new fortress which he built lay some three kilometres northward. Here he erected (*c.* A.D. 1050) the Iron Pillar, a standard from some unidentified Vishnu temple recording the victories of 'Chandra' (thought to be the fourth-century emperor Chandragupta II). Here two stone lions once stood guard before the gateway. Here a bell once hung which any aggrieved person could ring to gain a hearing or to plead for justice. In the twelfth century, the Tomar Rajputs were over-

thrown by the Chauhan Rajputs of Ajmer. The last Chauhan, Prithvi Raj III (or Rai Pithora), tried to defend his capital from the Turks by erecting massive stone ramparts around it. He was eventually slain on the field of Tarain in the year 1191–2.[3] Stories about Prithvi Raj, like those about King Arthur, are the stuff out of which popular and romantic legends are made. An endless stream of folklore has continued to depict his victories, his glory, and the poignancy of his final defeat. Many historians, for want of something better, have tended to repeat these tales.

But, with the reign of Prithvi Raj, Delhi's history finally emerges from the uncertain mists of folklore and the puzzling vagaries of artefact into the clear light of recorded narrative. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghori (Muhammad of Ghor) took Qila Rai Pithora for his capital. Thereafter, as the imperial sway of the Sultanate of Delhi inexorably began to spread its shadow of authority across the subcontinent, six other cities succeeded the first. The 'seven' cities of medieval Delhi are listed as follows:

First City	Qila Rai Pithora (and Lal Kot)	A.D. 1052
Second City	Siri	1303
Third City	Tughlakabad	1321
Fourth City	Jahanpanah	1334
Fifth City	Ferozabad (and Kotla)	1354
Sixth City	Dinpanah, Sher Shahabad (and Purana Qila)	1530, 1540
Seventh City	Shahjahanabad (and Lal Qila)	1648

With each successive reign, some distinctive architectural feature was added or some change in urban morphology occurred. Often some important new building would rise, something monumental—whether a mosque or a tomb, a palace, a fortress or a victory-tower. A reign of peculiar significance, especially if it were accompanied by a major dynastic shift or if a particularly strong personality came to the throne (*gaddi* or *masnad*), might be marked by the construction of an entirely new 'city'. Interestingly, considerations of practicality as much as of pride seem to have dictated these changes. Thus, while such monarchs as Ala-ud-din, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, Humayun and Sher Shah Suri celebrated the establishment of their dynasties by building

completely new cities, and while Muhammad Tuglak, Feroz Shah, and Shah Jahan celebrated their own rising majesty in the same way, each tended to move his new city to the north (and east). It was from the north, from the mountains after all, that cooler breezes came. Such breezes could be obstructed and even heated up by old buildings and by intervening urban sprawl. For comfort and health, it was far better to build entirely anew, out beyond all man-made obstructions.[4] Even Tuglakabad, while it did not follow this rule of northward progress (due to circumstances peculiar to the situation), was not only completely detached from any older city but also moved much closer to the river.

The progress of imperial integration occasionally faltered and even failed, especially during the century after the sacking of Delhi by Timur (Tamerlane) in 1398–9. But the psychological prestige of Delhi and the process of its enhancement never seems to have diminished. The Mughals, in fact, greatly embellished and increased the city's role as India's supreme capital (Agra and other cities notwithstanding). Nor did the city's importance diminish, neither after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 nor even in the aftermath of Nadir Shah's sacking of the city in 1739. Then, as Marathas gradually supplanted Mughals as the effective rulers, insomuch that the blinded Shah Alam II became their pensioner and virtual prisoner, and as the actual power of Delhi to rule continued to wane almost to the point of vanishing altogether, yet the ceremonial mystique of the city and its symbolic role as the supreme centre of authority in India actually seems to have grown.

This the coming of the British did nothing to diminish. Bahadur Shah, last of the Mughal Padshahs, continued to reign during the last twilight of his dynasty. His Durbar continued to hold the shadow of imperial authority even though virtually all governing power was held by the Company and was exercised by its officials. The Resident ruled over Delhi and his influence occasionally penetrated into the inner sanctuaries within the Red Fort. And when even this Mughal shadow finally vanished in the final conflagration of the Great Rebellion (or Mutiny), the aura of imperial authority remained. Delhi became a dusty provincial town, seemingly in the backwash of empire. Yet its hold upon popular imagination never ceased. A century earlier

Warren Hastings had felt it. So had his successors. Great imperial durbars continued to be held in Delhi—in 1877, in 1905, and in 1911—as if they were somehow necessary for the legitimization of the Raj. The formal restoration of Delhi as India's capital in this century and the enhancement of all its old grandeur, glory, and glamour by the building of yet another new city has crowned it with a lustre as great or greater than it has ever possessed. It has once again become one of the truly grand capitals of the world.

III

So powerful has been the magnetic attraction of Delhi upon the imagination that every age seems to have witnessed outbursts of newly inspired works—by artists, builders, painters, poets and scholars. Reflecting upon his eight-year sojourn (1334–42), the renowned Ibn Battuta proclaimed Delhi 'the metropolis of India, a vast and magnificent city, uniting beauty with strength'—'the largest city in the entire Muslim [World]', guarded by a city wall which he felt had 'no equal'.[5] Two French travellers of the mid-seventeenth century were no less lavish with their praise. Tavernier (an expert jeweller) detailed the exquisite features of the Peacock Throne (giving perhaps our only clear description of how it looked);[6] and Bernier (a physician) wrote about the elaborate appointments, ceremonials, and furnishings within the Court of the Exalted Fort (the *Urdu-i-mu'alla* or *Qila-i-mu'alla*) of Shahjahanabad.[7]

But descriptive vignettes, bits of wistful verse, miniature paintings, small scraps of information, tantalizing traces or even monumental remains, however enchanting or mysterious these may be, are in themselves hardly enough to satisfy the serious scholar. Works of inspiration can arouse curiosity, evoke interest, and even provide hard data. Yet systematic study of such works and careful analysis are developments of more recent origin. Scholarly and scientific investigations have not only served to confirm the strength of Delhi's attraction in past ages, but have also served to show the strength of Delhi's attraction in our present day. Without exhaustively exploring the whole of this scholarly development, a brief review of its more salient features

may serve to document highlights in the growth of knowledge about Delhi.

The first and perhaps the most splendid and thorough contribution to this knowledge was Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Asar al-Sanadid*. Written in Urdu, published in 1846 (*c.* 1847?) and then republished in a considerably revised form in 1854, this classic has only recently appeared in English. It may be seen as probably the most complete and authoritative historical description of Delhi's main buildings and monuments, 'the remains of former ages and the life and customs of the eminent personalities' associated, in one way or another, with Delhi. In its original form, this work was divided into four chapters and described in detail: (1) 130 Muslim and non-Muslim buildings outside the city as it then existed; (2) thirty-two buildings within the area of the Red Fort; (3) seventy architectural features of Shahjahanabad itself; and ended with a geographical and historical account of settlements on the various successive sites of cities within the forty-five square miles of the Delhi area, together with panegyric sketches of 119 personalities (*alims*, *shaikhs*, *hakims*, *fakirs*, *pirs*, painters, poets, reciters, calligraphers, and musicians). The entire work, dedicated to Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (Resident of Delhi) by Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Moonsif), was elaborately decorated with 130 drawings and ornamented with verse (along with copies of inscriptions).

The 1854 version was considerably different, giving much more careful attention to scholarly apparatus and adding precise tables of chronology and validating documentation. Many of the flowery circumlocutions of Persianized Urdu were removed; and more concise and restrained ordering of verifiable facts became available. Indeed, quite clearly responding to scholarly critics among colleagues in the Archaeological Society of Delhi—to whom he showed his work (as, for example, when he read a paper on 7 October 1852)—Sayyid Ahmad Khan made marked alterations in style and tone.[8] These can be interpreted as representing gradual changes which were affecting his entire outlook on life. Such fundamental changes were eventually to make him perhaps the foremost 'modernizing' and 'westernizing' Muslim of his age (in contradistinction, for example, to Jamal al-din Afghani).[9]

Strangely, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's remarkable work was not

published in English—not for a very long time. Unlike the French translation, published by Garcin de Tassy under the title *Description des Monuments de Delhi en 1852* just before the second or 1854 edition in Urdu, the English version of the *Asar al-Sanadid* did not become available until 1979.[10] This version, entitled *Monuments of Delhi: A Historical Study*, is not a literal translation. Rather, it is an attempt to combine the author's original meaning and spirit with a critical commentary based upon more recent discoveries. Furthermore, the original '*Āṯhārał-Sanādīd*' (Nath's transliteration) has been radically rearranged and reduced from 600 to 107 pages of text, five appendices of chronological tables, forty-four line drawings of original woodcuts (made by Mirza Shah Rukh Beg Musawwir for the 1846–7 edition), fifty-eight inscriptions, and an index. The result is a blend of old and new features, perhaps one-third the length of the original Urdu version. But what is especially important is the fact that, at long last, this invaluable classic has been made more widely available to readers throughout the world. One must hasten to add, however, that the *Asar al-Sanadid* itself deserves far more searching scholarly attention than it has so far received. (At least one solid doctoral dissertation, if not more, could be devoted to a deeper investigation of this work.)

For about a century and more after the appearance of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's volume, publications pertaining to Delhi's past mainly tended to reflect two characteristics—dry administrative reports of new findings, without much fresh insight; or popular guides and handbooks, showing little evidence of fresh investigation. But whether acknowledged or not, the *Asar al-Sanadid* seems to have served as the foundation stone and set the tradition for much which followed. Alexander Cunningham made this plain in his reports for the Archaeological Survey of India (1871,1874). So did Carr Stephen whose handbook, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876; republished Allahabad, 1967), almost seems like an English version of the Urdu work. Gordon Hearn's substantial work, *The Seven Cities of Delhi: A Description and History* (London, 1906; Calcutta and Simla, 1928), also seems to exude a similar ethos. Other guides and handbooks for visitors to Delhi, each titled somewhat differently, were written by F. Cooper (London, 1863, 1865); A.F.P. Harcourt (Allahabad, 1866); H.G.

Keene (London, 1876, 1882, 1889, and 1906, rewritten by E.A. Duncan); W. Hoey (1889); H.C. Fanshawe (London, 1902); J. Renton-Denning (Bombay, 1911); G. Sanderson and J.A. Page (London, 1913); and H. Sharp (London, 1921). Also, in addition to a three-volume Urdu work, *Waqayat-e-Dar-ul-Hukumat-e-Delhi* (Agra and Delhi, 1919) by Bashirud-Din Ahmad, two later works complete the survey. First, there is T.G. Percival Spear's *Delhi: A Historical Sketch* (Bombay, 1937, and 1945). This is a finely cut gem, far outshining all predecessors by its combination of authority, beauty and imaginative insight. Definitely in the 'guide and handbook' tradition, it is nonetheless exquisite in its artistry and craftsmanship, breathing life and warmth into the dead bones of Delhi's past. Second, there is Y.D. Sharma's *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood* (New Delhi, 1964, 1974). First published in time for distribution at the International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi in January 1964, this is essentially a report of the Archaeological Survey of India. As such it brings up to date the latest published findings. It is the latest in a series of archaeological reports which began with Alexander Cunningham in the 1860s. Succinct and thorough in its coverage, it is also characteristically chaste and dry in its style. No better guide or handbook is available to the visitor who may wish to explore the historic sites of Delhi.

Except for Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Asar al-Sanadid*, no truly significant contributions to our knowledge about Delhi's history emerged until after the last twilight of the Raj. Then, the first work to appear—indeed, the first monograph on Delhi by a professional historian—was Percival Spear's *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi* (Cambridge, 1951). This brilliant achievement was the product of a quarter-century's residence in Delhi, careful research in local archives, and calm reflection. It was the first really close examination of the 'Kingdom of Delhi', tracing the city's fortunes from the battle of Panipat in 1761 through the Great Mutiny or Revolt of 1857 and its aftermath.

Before the establishment of Company Raj in 1803, Delhi suffered several episodes of precarious autonomy and wanton pillage. Such suffering became especially acute during the years from 1782 to 1788 when the warlord, Madho Rao Sindia, brought the city under Maratha protection. After the defeat and

withdrawal of the Marathas, relationships between the Mughal Padshahs or 'Kings of Delhi' who were still the titular sovereigns and their still nominal servants, the East India Company, were chronically tense. Tensions between the Mughals and the British, between 'Pensioners' and 'Protectors', were virtually inevitable. Conflicting perceptions of relative status, role, and payments to be expected were not only inevitable, given the 'logic-of-power' requirements on each side, but they were also exacerbated by extreme frictions within both the Royal Family and the Company's Councils. Things remained thus between the British Residency and the Red Fort until the pretensions of one side or the other were entirely removed. This was done with surgical thoroughness after 1857. Meanwhile, British rule extended over the Delhi Territory and became firmly established. Known as the 'Delhi System' or the 'Metcalfe System', this was essentially an arrangement by which villages retained their local autonomy and were treated as unbroken and undivided 'corporate' entities. Local government at the village level remained largely in the hands of village elites; and villages were not to be molested so long as they met their revenue obligations and paid their taxes (or 'tribute') promptly.

Finally, attempting to deal with a number of separate topics mainly from an indigenous point of view, this study delves into such questions as Indo-British social life in Delhi, the Colebrooke controversy, the Fraser murder, and finally the Great Revolt and its aftermath in the city. For the vital years 1782–8 and for the entire period after 1803, the content of this book rests upon a solid foundation of original sources—official records, both manuscript and printed, private papers, memoirs, and diaries. Indeed, a substantial proportion of its materials were being used for the first time. Spear's achievement, like that of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, can be seen both in the originality and in the quality of his accomplishment. Nothing like it had been done before. Delhi's past stood revealed in a new and more vital way.

Perhaps as interesting and historically significant is *The Golden Calm: An English Lady's Life in Mughal Delhi* (Exeter, England, 1980; New York, 1980). This really consists of two separate portrait reminiscences of Old Delhi—one prepared by Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Resident at the Mughal Court, as 'Reminiscences of Imperial Delhi' and addressed 'For My

Very Dear Girls from their affectionate Father'; and the other being the personal and family reminiscences of his daughter, Emily.

Of all the many 'Anglo-Indian' families of Old Delhi, especially of those who made the city their home during 'the golden calm' or 'twilight' before the Mughals (and Company Raj) were swept away, perhaps none were more fascinating than the Metcalfes. Sir Thomas, who came out to India in 1813, spent virtually his entire working life in Delhi. At the time of his death there in 1853, he had served as Agent to the Governor-General at the Mughal Court and as Commissioner of Delhi for more than eighteen years. His more famous brother, Sir Charles, had previously held the same position and, for ten years, had been all but 'King of Delhi'. Other Metcalfes, including his own descendants, were also to leave their imprints upon the city. Emily Annie Theophila Metcalfe was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas. Born in Meerut in 1830, her earliest recollections were of the palatial family mansion north of Kashmiri Gate in Delhi. There she spent her childhood. Sent to England at the age of five, she did not return to Delhi until January 1848. Two years later, at nineteen, she married Sir Edward Clive Bayley in Delhi (at St James Church, of Skinner fame). Lady Clive Bayley remained in India for thirty more years.

There can be little doubt that Sir Thomas Metcalfe's 'Delhie Book' was a labour of love, patiently put together over many years. It reflects a deep attachment to the city and its history—to people who Metcalfe knew well and among whom he had spent his life. The contents of over two hundred pages of manuscript, illuminated with miniature paintings executed on commission by some of the finest artists of Delhi (e.g. Mazhar Ali Khan et al.), seem to resemble the contents of the *Asar al-Sanadid*. The fact that Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Metcalfe were both working on the same subject at roughly the same time, probably between 1837 and 1846, seems too fortuitous to be merely coincidental. Was Metcalfe also a member of the Archaeological Society of Delhi? Was he in contact with Sayyid Ahmad Khan? If so, did Sayyid Ahmad Khan contribute material to Metcalfe? Did Metcalfe inspire Sayyid Ahmad? Did they collaborate? These and other questions require further study. But a partial answer may be found in the fact that Sayyid Ahmad Khan dedicated

the first edition of his great work not to Bahadur Shah Zafar, the Emperor, but to Sir Thomas Metcalfe.[11] *The Golden Calm* contains over a hundred facsimile pages from the original manuscript of the 'Delhie Book', with copies of 128 paintings which depict local buildings and ceremonials, landmarks and personalities—including the famous elongated paintings (in a long, six-fold sheet) of 'His Majesty the King of Delhie proceeding in full State' and Sir Thomas in the Festival Procession, seated upon an elephant.

Finally, there is another 'coffee-table' book: Gavin Hambly's *Cities of Mughal India: Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri* (New York, 1968) is especially notable for its artwork. Fine as the text itself may be—and Hambly has some of the same magic pen as his Cambridge master, Percival Spear (to whom the book is dedicated)—it is the 128 plates and twenty-five figures (mostly of coins), not to mention the gorgeous jacket front and back, the front and back endpapers, and three maps, which make this a valuable element in the literature of Delhi. Moreover, the book *is* primarily and very substantially about Delhi. There can be no question but that Wim Swaan assembled some of the very finest photographs ever taken of the famous landmarks and that the pictures of miniatures and *objets d'art* from famous collections throughout the world serve to illustrate something of the fabric and texture of life within the palaces and great durbars which made Delhi what it once was.

NOTES

1. Percival Spear, *Delhi: A Historical Sketch* (Bombay, 1937 and 1945), p. 3.
2. Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood* (New Delhi, 1964, 1967), pp. 8–10; Gordon Hearn, *The Seven Cities of Delhi; A Description and History* (London, 1906, Calcutta and Simla, 1928), pp. 5–9.
3. Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876; Allahabad, 1967), pp. 7–31; Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 11–16; Spear, *Delhi*, pp. 9–11.
4. Spear, *Delhi*, p. 5.
5. *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–54* (London, 1929), pp. 194–7. Translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb.
6. Works of both are cited in the List of References.

7. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 60, 242. It is both enlightening and fascinating to realize that the royal family and the nobility still used the language and idiom of the Central Asian steppe to characterize their capital. The 'Urdu' was the Camp or Encampment and *Urdu-i-mualla* literally meant 'Exalted Encampment'—pavilions and tents of stone with awnings and ropes of crimson still being used.
8. An article by Christian W. Troll in the *JRAS* (1972) gives us the most complete analysis of these two editions and reasons for the distinctions between them.
9. See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 55–62, for distinctions between Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Jamal al-din Afghani.
10. Actually published in 1860–1, first in serial form and then in one volume.
11. The translation of the Urdu text (found in Troll's article) reads as follows:

> 'To the Muazzam al-Daulah [Respected of the Empire], Amin al-Mulk [Guardian of the Realm], Ikhtasās [? a mis-transcription?], Gallant Man, Noble Son, Heart and Soul of the Government [i.e. 'Sultani'], Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe Sahib [i.e. Sar Ṭāmas Thiyāfalas MaṬkaf Ṣāhib] Bārvan T [? mis-transcribed; from 'ba-razdanT'? for 'by Resident?'], Valiant Elder or Sir [Bahādur Ṣāhib], [dedicated in] the Seat of the Caliphate, Shāhjahanābād: May his good fortune endure!'

Such titles and honorifics may indicate that Sir Thomas, as had often happened with earlier Residents, had received a *khilat* or robe of investiture from the Emperor; or they may be a personal tribute (or even flattery?) from Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

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I PRE-MODERN DELHI

CAPITAL OF THE SULTANS
Delhi during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

M. ATHAR ALI

The Sultanate monuments of Delhi have received much attention. Saiyid Ahmad's *Asarus Sanadid*[1] and Carr Stephen's *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, 1876, are old but competent descriptions. But everything else is overshadowed by the great survey, *Delhi: Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period* by Tatsuro Yamamoto, Matsuo Ara, and Tokifusa Tsukinowa, published in Tokyo in 1970, with its detailed descriptions (all, alas, in Japanese), scientific diagrams and magnificent photographs. Handling it, one feels in the presence of a definitive work.

The intention of this paper is however not to offer a short view of the monuments, but to focus on the settlements; for this purpose the existing archaeological evidence is undoubtedly very important, but our attention here is basically directed towards literary evidence, and on what it tells us about the settlement-history of Delhi during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Such a correlation has been surprisingly lacking until now, and the intention here is to fill the gap.

When one looks at Delhi on the map, one feels a little surprised that its importance in the historical period should date only from the twelfth century. The outspurs of the Aravalli range reaching deep into the great alluvial plains of north India have their terminal point in the Delhi Ridge. The Yamuna river is thereby diverted from its seemingly natural south-westerly course (parallel to the Indus tributaries) to an easterly one (parallel to the Ganga) by the interposition of the Ridge under which it flows. Thus heights for commanding positions, rocks for stone-quarries, and the river for water supply, navigation and defence from the east, all should have combined to attract to Delhi the attention of rulers and merchants alike.

Yet, so far as we know, when Prithvi Raja was defeated at Tarain in A.D. 1192, there was only a small fort amidst the present ruins on the rocky ground now called Qila Rai Pithora. It was this fort which Qutbuddin Aibak occupied on behalf of Shahabuddin of Ghor in A.D. 1192,[2] and which became the nucleus of the Delhi of his successor Iltutmish—the Delhi known as *Dihli-i Kuhna* or 'Old Delhi' in the fourteenth century.[3]

It was natural that the Ghorian–Turkish conquerors should, upon choosing Delhi for their headquarters, start building their city around the fortress they had captured. So was built the Jama Masjid, with the Qutb Minar, and a new fort (Hisar-i Nau) close to the north of the Mosque.[4] This latter was probably the walled enclosure now known as Lal Kot. Probably adjacent to the Mosque was a religious school founded as early as the reign of Muizzuddin of Ghor, since it was known as *Madrasa-i muizzi*. Outside its gate was a market for cloth-merchants (*Bazar-i bazzazan*) through which a party of Carpathian heretics had tried to break into the Mosque, in A.H. 724 (A.D. 1324), having mistaken the *Madrasa* for the Mosque.[5]

An obvious deterrent to the growth of the city, which during the first half of the thirteenth century could not have been very large, was the problem of water-supply. The Yamuna was far away from the site of the town; the nearest point on the Yamuna is 18 km from the Qutb Minar as the crow flies. The rocky ground on the Aravalli outspurs precluded the digging of wells at most places. It proved, therefore, incumbent upon Iltutmish (A.D. 1210–36) to lay out a large tank, Hauz-i-Sultani or Hauz-i Shamsi from which citizens of Delhi could fetch water.[6] When during the 1260s, the Meos became turbulent and began to come up to the walls of Delhi, they prevented the citizens from enjoying a walk up to the tank and harassed the water-carriers and the slave girls come to fetch water.[7] It subsequently dried up because the channels feeding it were dammed up by 'dishonest men'. Firuz Shah (1351–88), however, claims to have broken down these dams and so opened the supply of water to the tank again.[8] The Hauz-i Shamsi was situated to the south of the then city, about 3 km from the Qutb complex. It received rain-water[9] drained off from the large, higher, fairly level catchment area to its west. The present mapped dimensions of the 'Shamsi Talab' as it is now known suggests that it was rectangular, about 200 metres long and 125 metres broad.[10] (Ibn Battuta's statement that it was two 'miles' (*mil*) long and one mile broad[11] indicated its roughly rectangular shape; it also suggests

that his *mil* is a unit of length far short of the English mile). A tank of this size, large as it was, could not have met the needs of a large population; and the difficulty in carrying water from it to the populated parts of the city must have been considerable.

It was, therefore, natural that a tendency should emerge to shift towards the Yamuna river. A suburb first developed at Ghayaspur, whose name suggests its settlement during the reign of Sultan Ghayasuddin Balban. Since Shaikh Nizamuddin established his *Jamaat Khana* in this suburb,[12] the present Dargah Nizamuddin fixes its site pretty well. Quite obviously, it owed its settlement to its being near the bank of the river[13] which just below here takes a turning towards the east; the point was thus nearest the then city of Delhi, while being close to the river. Still the distance between the Qutb Minar and Dargah Nizamuddin is about seven miles in a straight line.

Between this settlement and the Yamuna, Balban's grandson and successor, Muizzuddin Kaiqubad (d. 1289) began building a walled palace (*qasr*), which was either named Kilokhari or was on the site of a village of that name.[14] It was about half a *kuroh* (less than a mile) from Ghayaspur;[15] and this broadly suits the site 'Kilokri' shown on the survey map. This last suits too the position of the 'Kilokhari' palace which fronted the river, although there is said to have been space enough in between for Jalaluddin Khalji (1290–6) to lay out a garden.[16] Under this Sultan, who harboured suspicions about the loyalty of the leading citizens of the old city, a 'New City', the *Shahr-i Nau*, developed around the palace.

'Sultan Jalaluddin ordered his own nobles and commanders as well as the great men of the city to build houses in Kilokhari and erect high edifices, and bring certain merchants from the (Old) City. Large markets came to be established, and Kilokhari was named *Shahr-i Nau*. Moreover a stone-fort was built, of very great eminence.'[17]

The population seems to have extended upto the present Purana Qila, if the latter represents correctly the position of the then village of Indpat or Indarpat (Indraprastha). During Jalaluddin Khalji's reign, a number of Mongols ('Mughals') are said to have settled in Kilokhari and Ghayaspur as well as Indarpat and Bakula (?), their settlements being known as Mughulpur.[18]

It is almost certain that the shift of the town from the dry rocky zone to the riverside would have continued, had not certain circumstances occurred during the reign of Jalaluddin Khalji's nephew and successor, Alauddin Khalji, to force that Sultan to adopt a new policy.

The circumstances were, perhaps, dual in nature. On the one hand, the combination of the Ogetai and Chaghatai hordes in Central Asia under the leadership of Qaidu, gave a new intensity and ferocity to the Mongol raids into India. Delhi itself became the target of Mongol attack and was subject to siege twice.[19] It therefore became necessary for the population of the capital to be kept within fortified walls. This meant that the vicinity of the rocky zone where the supply of stone was easier must continue to contain the capital. Barani clearly says as much:

> The terror of the Mongols became all pervasive. Mughal horsemen began to come up to the platform of Subhani (*Chabutara-i Subhani*), and the villages of Mori and Hadhi, and the banks of the Hauz-i Sultani (Hauz-i Shamsi)—after the disaster of Targhi's invasion—which was a great disaster—Sultan Alauddin woke up from his sleep of negligence and gave up the projects of taking away the army on campaigns and reducing forts (in India). He now built his palace (*Kaushak*) in Siri and began to reside at Siri; he designated Siri his capital (*Darul Khilafa*) and made it well populated. He also built up the fort of Old Delhi.[20]

Siri was in fact a plain waste ground (*sahra*) almost adjoining the old city of Delhi to its north-east;[21] Alauddin had camped his army here before entering the walled capital in 1296.[22] He had also come out of the walled capital (Old Delhi), and pitched his tent on this plain when the Mughal commander Qutlugh Khwaja came to make an attempt on the capital.[23]

At the beginning the settlement at Siri seems to have been called Lashkar or Lashkargah (army encampment) in contrast to the Qutb Delhi known as Shahr (city). Nizamuddin commented upon the distance between Shahr and Lashkar.[24] His disciple and recorder of conversations, Amir Hasan Sijzi, himself an army officer, had built a house in Lashkar, and this enabled him to offer his Friday prayers at the Friday mosque in Kilokhari.[25] Subsequently Lashkargah situated in Siri, was named Darul Khilafa,[26] a statement corroborated by Ibn Battuta,[27] and by Barani.[28]

Apparently, local memory of where Siri was situated was lost; it was Cunningham who identified it with a vast area enclosed by raised mounds of earth and containing the village of Shahpur Jat. The identification is now held to be definitive and the name Siri appears on the survey sheets. It indeed meets all the indications of the position of Siri in our sources: an expanse of level ground between Qutb Delhi and Kilokhari. The enclosed area amounts to some 1.7

square kilometres.[29] The description in Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, that the walled enclosure (*Sura*) of Siri is roughly 'circular' is broadly correct in that it is not rectangular.[30]

Alauddin Khalji's attention, however, seems mainly to have centred on Qutb Delhi. The vast extensions he made to the Friday Mosque[31] suggests not only his interest in that city, but also the fact that an enormous increase in the population of the city had occurred since Iltutmish's time, so that the old space no longer sufficed. Indeed, this was the Shahr *par excellence* in contrast to the Darul-Khilafa that was Siri and Shahr-i Nau (new city) that was Kilokhari.[32] It was the major commercial centre, as Barani's description of Alauddin Khalji's price regulations so definitely tells us.

Alauddin decreed that the cloth market should be established on an open ground (*sahra*) 'within (i.e. inside the city wall at) Badaun Gate in the direction of Kaushak-i Sabz, that had for years remained unoccupied.[33] The market came to be known as *Sara-i adl*. The Badaun Gate is mentioned as the 'greatest gate' of (Qutb) Delhi by Ibn Battuta,[34] and is often mentioned in our authorities.[35] Outside the gate were excavated dry wells which served as dungeons for the imbibers and purveyors of wine.[36] The grain market (*manda* or *mandi*), so often referred to by Barani,[37] was situated at yet another gate of the city, the Mandavi Darwaza.[38]

The dry wells outside Badaun Gate should remind us of the problem of water supply in the enlarged city, a problem acuter for the settlement around the Qutb than for Siri, where underground water could be reached more easily by digging wells through alluvial soil.

Alauddin Khalji tried to alleviate this problem by re-excavating Iltutmish's Hauz-i Sultani or Hauz-i Shamsi. That tank is said to have run dry and to have only contained some pools. Large amounts of mud and silt were therefore removed from inside the tank and a platform (*chabutra*) and domed pavilion (*gumbad*) built in the middle.[39]

However, as Amir Khusrau remarks with engaging exaggeration, the waters of the Nile and Euphrates would have been insufficient to meet the needs of the increased population of Qutb Delhi.[40] In any case, the Hauz-i Shamsi would have been too far south for the quarters and suburbs situated to the north of the Qutb Minar.

Alauddin Khalji, therefore, excavated another tank about two miles to the north of the Qutb, the Hauz-i Alai or Hauz-i Khas (now the name of a well known part of upper-class New Delhi); the

banks of the tank are still traceable: it is a square, each side some 600 metres in length, the total space enclosed by the banks amounting to over seventy acres.[41] Ibn Battuta describes it as larger than the Hauz-i Shamsi.[42] Yazdi calls it a 'small sea' (*daryacha*), and says it was filled during the rainy season and served to supply the needs of the inhabitants of Delhi for the whole year.[43] The catchment area of the tank lay to the south behind the present-day Indian Institute of Technology and Jawaharlal Nehru University, and some channels which probably took water to the tank can still be traced. Like Hauz-i Shamsi, this too was at some distance from the more closely inhabited parts of the city. Plain vacant ground (*sahra*) adjoined it, interposing itself between the tank, on the one hand, and Siri, on the other, and stretching to the fortified wall of Qutb Delhi. In this ground Khusrau Khan had planted orchards.[44] Women singers and dancing women lived on one side of that tank.[45] Fetching water from the tank must have been strenuous business and must have involved the labour of many maid-servants or slaves and professional water carriers.

The major part of Delhi under Alauddin Khalji (1296–1316) was thus the Qutb Delhi with Siri as an isolated extension. When Barani later on recollected how large numbers of people came to visit Shaikh Nizamuddin, the Chishti mystic, settled at Ghayaspur (near Kilokhari in Shahar-i Nau), he thought of the crowds coming from the Shahr, the City, or Qutb Delhi. The road by which they came probably passed through much uninhabited waste or unpopulated terrain:

> The freemen (*hurrs*) and philanthropists laid out platforms at many places from the Shahr to Ghayaspur; there they set up thatched huts, dug wells, and kept ready water-filled basins with clay vessels, and with matting spread out. Every platform and thatched hut had a watchman and servants so that the disciples, followers and pious men should not have anything to worry about in regard to ablutions and performing of prayers during their visit to and return from the Shaikh's house.[46]

It seems that the increase in the population of Delhi and Siri led Ghayasuddin Tughluq (1320–5) to lay out yet another settlement, namely Tughluqabad.[47] The site is at a considerable distance (about eight kilometres) due east of the Qutb Minar (and so of 'Old Delhi'); it sits upon a southern terminal of the Ridge towards the Yamuna, from which it is almost as much distant as from the Qutb Minar. The advantage of the site lay in its stone quarries which provided building material, and the scarps that could be used to reinforce the elevation of fortifications. There was the possibility too of setting a dam against

the natural eastward drainage line, which narrowed here; and so of creating a tank and source of water supply. So Isami: 'The sagacious sovereign ordered the digging of a tank under the elevated fort. Every moment the tank was beset by waves like the seven oceans beneath the Caucasus Mountains.'[48]

The great survey of Sultanate Delhi by Yamamoto et al. contains excellent photographs of the tank, the surrounding walls and the main dam with its three arches containing the sluices.[49]

Unfortunately, besides the outstanding monuments, namely, the tomb of Ghayasuddin Tughluq, and the fortress walls, it is difficult to reconstruct the plan of Tughluqabad. Across the tank Muhammad Tughluq constructed the fort of Adilabad, with which Tughluqabad is connected by a causeway. It would seem that Tughluqabad was more or less a detached complex to house the Sultan, his retinue and personal troops; it was, perhaps, never intended to replace 'Old Delhi' as either a commercial or even administrative centre.

Indeed, 'Old Delhi' continued to grow; and this led Muhammad Tughluq (1325–51) to plan an immense length of fortification so as to enclose the entire area between the Qutb Delhi and Siri within its walls, giving to the enclosure the name of Jahanpanah.[50] Thus, now, three settlements, 'Old Delhi', Jahanpanah and Siri arose, linked to each other. Yazdi said that Jahanpanah exceeded 'Old Delhi' in size; and 'Old Delhi' exceeded Siri. The walls of Jahanpanah had six gates leading out to the north-west, seven to the south, and three into Siri.[51] The north-western wall was skirted by Hauz-i Khas, directly fronting which there was a gate.[52] The southern wall of Jahanpanah can be traced easily: the north-western appears on maps, but on the ground has practically disappeared.

As usual, for water supply yet another reservoir was provided. An embankment 850 feet in length with seven arches (and thus called 'Satpula' or 'Satpala') was thrown across a drain near the present village of Khirki, as part of the southern wall of Jahanpanah, to retain a vast sheet of water. The drain still runs in practically the same channel. The dam towers some 213 feet above ground level.[53]

Delhi had thus reached an enormous size—unluckily, no estimate of its population is possible—when Muhammad Tughluq decided to transfer his capital to Daulatabad in the Deccan. The statement that this was accompanied by a wholesale transfer of population is made by all of our three major authorities, Ibn Battuta, Isami and Barani, with considerable circumstantial detail.[54] It is not intended here to

discuss the extent to which Delhi was actually depopulated. Ibn Battuta said that when he arrived in A.D. 1334, he could witness the unhappy effects.[55] Barani says people from the surrounding country came and took the place of those who had been taken to the south.[56] Delhi was subsequently troubled too by famine, and Muhammad Tughluq was compelled to establish a camp city on the Ganga river, called Svargaduari (Gate of Paradise) where the people of Delhi might go to live on grain brought up the river.[57]

It is possible that the rebellions in the 1340s further told on the prosperity of Delhi, and the enormous city began to go partly to ruin. During the reign of Firuz Tughluq (1351–88) the decline became perceptible. Firuz Tughluq himself records that the drains flowing into the Hauz-i Shamsi had been closed by 'people' building dams across them; and the Hauz-i Alai had silted up, running dry, so that the 'people of the city' carried on cultivation within it, digging wells and selling water drawn from them.[58] By Firuz Shah's reign the ruins of 'Old Delhi' had indeed become a rich source of bricks for the new city of Firuzabad.[59]

The ruin of 'Old Delhi' may possibly have become inevitable as a consequence of the decline of the Sultanate. Enormous settlements set on the Aravalli rocks, away from the river, must have meant an extra drain of revenue, to meet the extra cost of water supply and expense of transporting grain and goods. The revenue must have perceptibly declined as the Sultanate contracted and the administrative structure atrophied. There was therefore good reason for a shift to an economically more suitable position, i.e. along the river, from the one set on the upper rocky grounds. In spite of his valiant effort to repair and rebuild the older structures and re-excavate the great reservoirs of the older complex,[60] Firuz Shah was constrained to fix his own capital upon the Yamuna river.

The new capital was Firuzabad. Firuz established it quite early in his reign, since Barani writing in 1358 mentions its foundation, on the banks of the Yamuna, prophesying that 'in course of time it would be the envy of the Great Cities'.[61] Afif describes the extent of the new city in an oft-quoted passage. It was on the Yamuna, '5 kurohs' from (old) Delhi.[62] The total expanse embraced eighteen villages. The core village (presumably the site of Firuz Shah Kotla) was Kawin or Gawin. It included lands of the village of Kathiwara, which is presumably identical with the ford or ferry (*guzar*) of Kath in Barani.[63] Its exact site is not located; more easily located are Indpat

(Indraprastha, Purana Qila), and the land of the tomb of Sultan Razia (situated in the Mohalla Bulbuli Khana near Turkman Gate, Shahjahanabad).[64] The city extended much further northwards across the whole of the later city of Shahjahanabad up to the base of the Ridge between modern Sabzi Mandi and the Civil Lines. Afif tells us that:

> By the grace of God, the population of Delhi increased so much that the entire space between Indpat and the *Kaushak-i Shikar* had been inhabited, the distance between the limits of Indpat and the *Kaushak-i Shikar* is five *kurohs*.[65]

Kaushak-i Shikar is easy to identify because of the Ashokan pillar which Firuz Shah set up there.[66] This stands on the Ridge between Sabzi Mandi and the Civil Lines. Quite obviously the population extended along the Yamuna River, possibly in a fairly narrow belt. The statement that it extended to Hauz-i Khas is made by Saiyid Ahmad, and is repeated by Carr Stephen, but is without any substance.[67]

It is difficult to be sure about the extent to which the growth of Firuzabad compensated for the decay of 'Old Delhi'. Certainly, the settlement was more successful than Kilokhari, which seems, from its exclusion, to have decayed by now. Firuz Shah shifted Delhi to a more suitable terrain; henceforth its settlements were to adjoin the Yamuna rather than the Aravalli ridge. Sher Shah's Delhi, Salim Garh, Humayun's Tomb, Shahjahanabad, even New Delhi, are situated within the alluvial zone. In a geographical sense, as much as historical, Firuzabad set the seal on the decline of the Delhi of the Sultanate with its sites upon and around the rocky wastes, and shifted it compellingly to the lower lands to the north and north-east.

NOTES

1. First ed., 1847. I have used the comprehensive edition by Khalid Nasir Hashmi (Delhi, 1965).
2. Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, ed. I. Habib, p. 400.
3. Yazdi, *Zafarnama* (Calcutta, 1888), II, p. 125, where the three cities of Delhi described are 'Jahanpanah', Siri to its north-east and *Dihli-i Kuhna* to its south-west.
4. *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, I, 461.
5. Ibid.
6. The earliest reference to this tank seems to be in *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, I, p. 466.
7. Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 56, where the tank is designated Hauz-i Sultani.

8. ***Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi***, ed. S. A. Rashid (Aligarh, 1954), p. 12.
9. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, tr. Mehdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), p. 28.
10. Yamamota, Ara and Tsukinowe, *Delhi*, 3 vols. and map. Saiyid Ahmad gives its area as 276 'pucca bighas' or 172.5 acres (*Asarus Sanadid*, p. 175).
11. *Rehla*, tr. Mehdi Husain, p. 28.
12. Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, pp. 343–4; Shaikh Nasiruddin, *Khairul Majalis*, ed. K. A. Nizami, p. 126. On p. 325 Barani styles Nizamuddin as Ghayaspuri, i.e. of Ghayaspur.
13. Shaikh Nasiruddin (*c.* 1356) described the *Jamaat Khana* of Nizamuddin as in Kilokhari, on the bank of the river Jaun (Yamuna) (*Khairul Majalis*, 283). This statement raises problems. The *Jamaat Khana* was in Ghayaspur, not Kilokhari. If its site was the same as of the one now pointed out as such in Dargah Nizamuddin, the river must have flowed through the present Zoological Park and west of the site of Humayun's tomb. This course is shown in the map on the endpapers. The early channel (probably only carrying a branch of the river) can still be traced in its southern section.
14. Barani, 175, and *passim*.
15. *Khairul Majalis*, 126.
16. Barani, 175.
17. Ibid. Practically no ruins survive at Kilokhari.
18. Ibid., 219.
19. Barani, pp. 254–61, 300. One under Qutlugh Khwaja, and then under Targhi. See also Isami, *Futuh us Salatin*, pp. 256–70, 285–6.
20. Barani, pp. 301–2. Is modern Mehrauli a corruption of Mori-Hadhi?
21. Ibid., p. 246; Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, II, 125, gives the direction in relation to 'Old Delhi', i.e. Qutb Delhi.
22. Barani, p. 246.
23. Ibid., p. 254.
24. *Fawaid ul Fuad*, p. 282 (11 January 1317).
25. Ibid., p. 195 (8 April 1314).
26. Ibid., p. 311 (8 February 1318).
27. *Rehla*, tr. Mehdi Husain, pp. 25, 73–4.
28. Barani, 302.
29. Measured from the survey of India's *Delhi Guide* map (1:20,000), 1969 edition.
30. *Zafarnama*, II, 125.
31. Carr Stephen, pp. 53–4. Alauddin Khalji 'nearly doubled the length of the Mosque after Altamash's extensions and added about half as much ground to its breadth' (p. 53).
32. *Fawaid ul Fuad*, p. 282; Barani, p. 299.
33. Barani, pp. 310–12.
34. *Rehla*, tr., p. 26.
35. For example, Barani himself, pp. 54, 246, 258, 330.
36. Ibid., pp. 258–66.
37. Ibid., pp. 304 ff.
38. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, tr., p. 26.
39. Amir Khusrau, *Khazainul Futuh*, Aligarh ed., pp. 31–4. When the water rose in the tank the domed pavilion could only be reached by boat (Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 28). Both structures survive (Carr Stephen, p. 69).

40. *Khazainul Futuh*, pp. 32–3.
41. Sides of the tank measured from map; area from Carr Stephen, p. 83.
42. *Rehla*, p. 28.
43. *Zafarnama*, II, pp. 108–9. Because Firuz Shah re-excavated it, Yazdi ascribes its construction to that Sultan.
44. Barani, pp. 417–18.
45. *Rehla*, 28.
46. Barani, 343–4.
47. Isami, *Futuh-us Salatin*, ed. Usha, p. 412; Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 442; *Rehla*, tr., p. 25.
48. Isami, p. 412.
49. Vol. III, *Waterworks*, Plates 19–22: The textual description is on pp. 46–51.
50. *Rehla*, tr., p. 25.
51. *Zafarnama*, II, p. 125.
52. Ibid., p. 116.
53. For description of this work see Saiyid Ahmad, *Asarus Sanadid*, pp. 193–4; Carr Stephen, pp. 101–2. There are magnificent photographs in Yamamoto, Vol. III, Plates 23–4, also a plan opposite p. 56.
54. *Rehla*, 94; Isami, 446–54; Barani, pp. 473–5.
55. *Rehla*, tr., p. 94.
56. Barani, p. 474.
57. Ibid., pp. 485–86. *Cf. Rehla*, p. 87.
58. Firuz Shah's inscription, *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi*, pp. 12–14.
59. Afif, p. 376.
60. Firuz Shah's building effort in 'Old Delhi' is attested by the numerous structures erected or repaired by him; but see Firuz Shah's own *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi*; Barani, pp. 562–6; and Afif, *passim*.
61. Barani, p. 566.
62. The straight map distance between the Qutb Minar and Firuz Shah Kotla is 13.5 kilometres. Yazdi says it was three *kurohs* from Jahanpanah (Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, II, p. 127).
63. Barani, 246. It appears as the village of Kathi in Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, II, 85.
64. *Asarus Sanadid*, 179–80.
65. Afif, 135. The actual distance is 'six miles as the crow flies' (Carr Stephen, p. 123).
66. Afif, 305.
67. *Asarus Sanadid*, p. 92; Carr Stephen, p. 123. Saiyid Ahmad's mistake arose out of a misreading of the text of Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, II, 108–9, where it is stated that the tomb of Sultan Firuz Shah (not Firuzabad) was situated near Hauz Khas.

THE EARLIEST CHISHTIYA AND SHAIKH NIẒĀM UD-DĪN AWLIYĀ

BRUCE B. LAWRENCE

The history of Indian Sufism is often charted with reference to prominent religious figures whose biographies, when singly studied or collectively analysed, will, it is assumed, provide the key to the fate of Islam in the Asian subcontinent. A seldom asked question concerns the biographical process itself: why did certain Muslims from this part of the world become famous, while others have been forgotten, slighted or remembered only in relationship to their illustrious contemporaries? The present essay will address this question to only one time period, the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526), during which a series of Turco-Muslim dynasts ruled, with mixed success, till the rise of that vast military patronage state commonly called the Mughal or Indo-Timurid empire. The essay will also focus on only one Sufi order, the most important of Sultanate India, the Chishtīya, whose major exponents will be described below.

Among pre-Mughal south Asian Muslims, the possibility of fame in every instance depended on certain recurrent, largely ascriptive qualities. The potentially famous person had to be: (a) male, because men predominated in the social order of the Delhi Sultanate as they did in traditional societies everywhere; (b) urban, because cities were the loci of political, commercial, bureaucratic and spiritual power as well as showcases for the exercise of patronage in art, architecture and literature; and (c) élite, since privileges of birth, education, mobility and job opportunity separated the urban male from others, the non-élite, of his society. There were undoubtedly as many female, rural pastoralists as male, urban scholar-teachers in the Delhi Sultanate, but the life histories of the former were never recorded; not having been written down, they are known to us only through incidental references or thin conjectures.

What we do have is a wealth of biographical (or better hagio-

graphical) material concerning Sufi masters, variously known as *shaikhs*, *mashāikh*, *pīrs* or *murshids*. The existence of so many biographies about economically non-productive holy men who were often also reclusive and apolitical, requires explanation. They were the visible leaders of a movement to institutionalize and popularize mystical Islam. Diachronically, they cannot be understood apart from the early phase of Islamic history, now acknowledged to be much more fluid in its intellectual and theological scope than previously thought. Synchronically, they cannot be divorced from an hieratic structuralization of spiritual power and authority that was developing in central Asian and Middle Eastern as well as south Asian Islam. The features of the Sufi master that are presented in Indo-Muslim biographical literature could be replicated elsewhere; what is distinctly Indian about them is not easy to determine, especially since the literature itself is self-consciously Muslim and only by circumstance Indian.[1]

The history of institutional Sufism has yet to be written. J. Spencer Trimingham made an effort in that direction, but his *Sufi Orders in Islam* needs wholesale revision, nowhere more than with reference to south Asia.[2] We will not present our own alternate history here. Instead, we will draw attention to those features of the Muslim holy man as head of an institutional movement which have to be recognized before the function of Sufi biographies can be properly assessed. In a society hieratically structured at all levels—professional, corporate and familial—ultimate authority or total confidence was placed in men at the top. For mystically minded Muslims (a category inclusive of many rural and urban, non-élite and élite, illiterate and educated, female and male Muslims of Sultanate India), the *shaikh* was the supreme, unquestioned authority for every aspect of their lives, Culticly, deference to him was registered by public acts such as offering an oath of allegiance (*baiat*) or kissing the feet (*qadambūsī*). Theologically, it was conveyed by describing the *shaikh* as not merely a good man in communion with God but a perfect man directly mediating the Divine Will. The fantastic conceits which evolved in order to idolize the Sufi master have been laid bare by the late Marshall Hodgson:[3]

> Pirs were not merely the means whereby other humans came to God. As the perfect human beings, they were the reason why the universe has been made: not merely as the specially obedient creatures of God, who give Him pleasure, but as the metaphysical goal of all the universe, including

> other human beings. When perfected, they were necessarily sinless, for their transformed nature was incompatible with sin (that is, separation from God) and would transform what seemed to be sin into holiness.

The cosmic significance of the *pīr* was sometimes depicted by Muslim theologians or Sufi theoreticians in slightly less exalted terms than Hodgson uses. Muslim saints were said to be marred insofar as they did commit small sins—very small sins, to be sure, but still sins. Lacking sins, they would or could claim the same lofty status as prophets, technically the apogee of spiritual àuthority in Islam. The distinction between prophet and saint was never easy to maintain, especially among mystically inclined Muslims, and Islamic literature reveals an extensive overlapping between prophetic and saintly models of biography. The antecendent authority is the Prophet; the living embodiment of authority is the saint. Indeed, because the Sufi orders not only complemented but often displaced other forms of Islamic devotion, it was through the saint that the role of Muḥammad *vis-à-vis* his community was frequently adduced. It is never clear whether Muḥammad became the exemplar by which saints were judged or vice versa, for the Muḥammad upheld as the prototype for all Muslim holy men was *not* the Muḥammad portrayed in quasi-historical biographies such as those of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767) and Ibn Hishām (d. 833) but rather the Muḥammad depicted in *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*, 'Tales of the Prophets', a popular category of devotional literature emphasizing particular events in Muḥammad's life, such as the splitting of the moon (Qurān 54:1) and the Ascension to heaven after the night journey (Qurān 17; 1), and certain character traits, such as his illiteracy and poverty. In high mystical theology Muḥammad even became a pre-existent light from heaven co-extensive with the very source of creation, God Himself.

Muḥammad's confirmatory miracles (*mujizāt*) separated him from saints, who could only perform occasional, non-confirmatory feats (*karāmāt*), but his day-to-day activities, known in Islam as *sunnah-i nabī*, 'the custom of the Prophet', became the canon of correct behaviour (*adab*) which every saint sought to emulate. Whether the Prophet's behaviour can be termed the first stage of 'enacted biography' for saints or whether it was the saints' self-image which determined the tone, and also the content, of Prophetic biographies to such an extent that the latter must be called 'retrospective biography', is difficult to say. However one may resolve that thorny issue, the pervasive recognition of Muḥammad's importance as a

guide to daily conduct is beyond doubt. Sharaf ad-dīn Manerī, the outstanding Firdausī master of fourteenth-century Bihar, has left us a concise, detailed testament of this popular perception of Muḥammad:[4]

> He himself used to arrange the fodder for his own mount. He used to go home and light the lamp himself. When the strap of his sandal broke, he himself repaired it. He used to mend his torn garments with his very own hand. He helped the servants in the house. If someone asked him to do some foolish thing, he never declined. If a stranger was aggrieved with him, he did not punish him. Never at all were such things as cursing, imprecation, abuse, or vile language found upon his tongue. He was always smiling, but with no laughter or frivolity.

Coupled with these admirable traits of self-reliance, malleability and sobriety were acts of charity and solicitude, uncommon egalitarianism, voluntary poverty, prayerful responsiveness and grandfatherly forbearance, as the following passage, also from the same letter of Manerī, makes clear:[5]

> Whenever his friends fell sick, he would help them. If for an hour he did not see them, he would seek them out. Should a servant fall ill in his own house, he would take his place and bring things from the bazaar. He accepted the invitations of free men and slaves. He accepted gifts, even if it were only a drop of water or a mouthful of milk. Anything lawful that was brought to him, such as a hare, he would eat. He never criticised whatever he was offered to eat. He wore such lawful dress as was available . . . [and] he used to ride on whatever happened to be at hand, either a horse, camel or ass, or he would even go on foot . . .
>
> He would sleep on a bare mat, using no mattress or covers. Whoever turned to him in time of need—whether a servant, a free man, a slave or a slave girl—he would heed that person's request. If anyone came to him in distress and it happened to be at the time of prayer, he would quickly finish his prayer and then attend to his visitor and carry out the latter's request. After, he would return to his prayers . . . And if Hasan and Husain climbed onto his back, using him as a horse to ride upon, saying to him, 'O mount, go this way!' or 'Go like this!' then he would do as he was bidden.

Though Manerī ascribes all these incidents to true traditions (*aḥādīth*) of the Prophet's behaviour, where is Muḥammad the merchant, the visionary, the warrior, the statesman and the arbitrator? He has been replaced by a pious old man patiently indulging the whims of his impish grandchildren. For Muslim saints what makes such a portrait so compellingly attractive is that it represents the last and the most

tangible of four ways in which they can relate themselves to the seventh-century Arab prophet, Muḥammad ibn Abdallāh Qurayshī. First, as a professing Muslim, the saint was joined to Muḥammad's community (*umma*). Second, as one who may have been born into a family with genealogical ties going back to one of the two aforementioned 'imps', Ḥasan and Ḥusain, Muḥammad's only male grandchildren, the saint was often a biological descendant of the Prophet (commonly known as a *sharīf*, *sayyid* or Alavī). Third, as the member of a Sufi order (*ṭarīqa*, *silsila*), which also had a spiritual lineage (*shajra*) traceable to Muḥammad and, in part, parallelling the biological lineage just cited, the saint was a legatee of Muḥammad's charisma or *baraka*. Finally, as one who struggled on the Path to Truth, he daily tried to emulate Muḥammad's behaviour as conveyed in the passages quoted from Manerī's *One Hundred Letters*. The fourth relationship presumed the existence of two or all the preceding three, but it also confirmed them uniquely in the eyes of other Muslims.

Because of the emphasis on Muḥammad as the prototype for saintly conduct, one might expect that an examination of biographies about the Prophet, especially those reflecting popular perceptions of his behaviour, would disclose the full array of expected qualities comprising the biographical model for an ideal saint. Such is not the case. For the saint, there were other expectations, different from those ascribed to Muḥammad by his earliest followers. As heads of institutional orders, saints required a combination of disparate, even opposite qualities. Two leading scholars of Indo-Islamic culture, Annemarie Schimmel and Simon Digby, have summarised the dominant features expected of every medieval Sufi *shaikh*. Schimmel's list of recurrent traits stretches to twelve:[6]

1. an epiphanic moment or ecstatic utterance that is identified as the threshold experience;
2. stress on the role of the mother in the formative years of education;
3. claims of early ascetical pursuits or the performance of extraordinary feats (*karāmāt*);
4. the paradox of family life: not cenobitic, he still remains chaste;
5. central attention to the canonical pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and/or extensive travels to meet other Sufis;
6. initiation by a proper master or the mysterious Khiḍr;[7]
7. longevity, often with a numerical significance attached to the date of death;

8. frequent food and conversion miracles;

9. acknowledgement of the Prophet as a prototype for the saint (already discussed);

10. possession of divine rather than human qualities, often in polar antithesis [e.g., beauty (*jamāl*) and terror (*jalāl*)] but also in some instances combined;

11. exemplifying pain (*dard*) through love (*ishq*) as the most efficacious and rapid means of attaining perfection (*kamāl*) and/or union (*wiṣāl*);

12. maintaining the distinction between drunkenness (*suker*) and sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) as spiritual states (*ḥāl*; *aḥwāl*) but also combining them.

Digby, on the other hand, gives a list which emphasises contrasting qualities. He observes that 'a detailed study of a medieval Sufi *shaikh* will often reveal apparent inconsistencies of attitude, character and behaviour. Acceptance of a Sufi in his lifetime as a great *shaikh* depended on the recognition that he possessed, to an impressive degree, qualities which indicated that he was an especial recipient of Divine Grace. The balance of these qualities in a single *shaikh* might vary, just as a winning hand at cards may be stronger in some suits than others.' He then goes on to detail the singular qualities of a celebrated *shaikh*:[8]

1. descent from the Prophet, his companions or other *ashrāf* (noble Muslim families of seventh-century Arabia)

2. connection with a Sufi *silsila* (order) of already established local prestige

3. a reputation for strict orthodoxy

4. meticulous performance of Islamic duties

5. austerities of an orthodox character

6. a mastery of Islamic doctrinal and Sufi texts or an abundance of literary compositions

7. the working of miracles (*karāmāt*), together with a careful avoidance of the vulgar display of them

8. a reputation for inaccessibility and dislike of human society, often combined with a care for disciples and accepted hangers-on; and finally,

9. visible ecstasy, often of a shamanistic type and often also linked with a refined sensibility to poetry and music.

So disparate are the above qualities, concludes Digby, that one might reasonably expect inconsistencies to 'result from striving after such different excellences.'

Though Schimmel and Digby concur on many of the features in the ideal profile of a great Indo-Muslim *shaikh*, one might formulate a combined list of recurrent paradoxes as follows:

1. Well-born into a good Muslim family, the saint must yet be motivated to seek a Sufi master in order to improve the quality of his Islamic faith.

2. Well educated in the Qurān, *hadīth*, theology and also Sufi literature as well as Persian poetry, he must yet be able to divine the deepest truths behind, and often beyond, the written word.

3. Initiated by a *shaikh* (usually after an epiphanic moment) and acknowledging his *shaikh* as the sole vehicle of divine grace for him, he must yet strive to attain his own level of spiritual excellence, often through severe fasting and prolonged meditation.

4. Living in isolation from the company of others, he must yet constantly attend to the needs of his fellow Muslims, or at least to those needs evidenced by his disciples and visitors to his hospice. (He is seldom expected to concern himself with non-Muslims.)

5. Married and the father of sons, he must yet be celibate in temperament and disposition.

6. Capable of performing miracles, he must be careful to suppress them on most occasions.

7. Prone to ecstasy, whether in solitude or aided by music and verse in the company of other Sufis, he must yet be able to recall and to perform his obligatory duties as a Muslim.

8. Poor and unmindful of worldly possessions, he must yet be receptive to large donations of money and be able to dispense them quickly for the benefit of the needy.

9. Avoiding the company of worldly people, merchants, soldiers and government officials, including kings, he must yet live in proximity to them (i.e., near a city) and stay in touch with them through his lay disciples.

Clearly, the task of being a *shaikh* involved, in Digby's words, 'striving after different excellences.' Having outlined the features which characterize a man recognized as a *shaikh*, we have not, however, answered the central question: Why did certain Indo-Muslim *shaikhs* from the Sultanate period become famous, while others have been forgotten, slighted or remembered only in relation to their illustrious contemporaries? It is our contention that the reputation of a Sufi master largely depended on a biographical process which may be chronologically segmented into two parts:

1. The pivotal life events of the saint, which were noted by his contemporaries and applauded during his lifetime. The determining question is: how well did his genealogy and life history conform to attitudes, activities and allegiances esteemed by the various groups comprising the élite of his time and region

2. his posthumous fame. The determining question is: how well did his family and followers perpetuate his memory through the construction of an impressive tomb shrine, through the oral dissemination of his teachings and influence, and also (of equal importance) through the creation of a literary legacy extolling him to future generations?

Concerning the second stage, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the function of the cult surrounding a tomb shrine often determines the degree of fame of a particular saint. Minor historical saints have no tomb shrine. Instead, their remains are placed in simple graves or associative graves within the tomb complex of a major saint. On the other hand, there are major tomb cults surrounding saints with little or no life history. Two of the most popular shrines in north India, for instance, are dedicated to legendary or near-legendary figures from the Sultanate period.[9] If we were to attempt an extended study on holy men and sacred biographies in pre-modern South Asian Islam, we would have to investigate tomb cults in relation to both historical and legendary saints of widely variant backgrounds.[10]

Since the most accessible biographical material is literary, and there is a wealth of literary evidence from the Sultanate period of Indian Sufism, much of it a largely unmapped territory of academic enquiry,[11] ideally, the literature should help us to amplify by description, and in time to contrast by analysis, the two parts of the biographical process. Yet the memory of what a saint *should* have been influences the memory of what he *was* on the part of his followers. Unlike the biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad, we do not have a wealth of evidence arrayed from differing viewpoints about most Indo-Muslim saints, especially those belonging to the earliest or Sultanate period. We lack 'objective' biographies by detached observers; we also lack 'negative' biographies by hostile rivals. Instead, we are left to decipher the two-staged process through the eyes of those who were already committed to the saint and to an image of what he should have been, before recording his legacy for posterity.

Nonetheless, Sufi devotees from Sultanate India have produced

a spate of literature. Like the tomb cults, it has its major and minor heroes, and like them, it, too, is best approached through the network of relationships—both living and dead—all of which presume that a particular saint is both the proximate and the ultimate repository of Divine Truth. Networks of communication and exchange are common to all forms of institutional religion, but what perhaps characterizes Sufism is the way in which these networks are realigned in successive generations. Each major saint becomes a crucial, indispensable link extending the spiritual charisma—and hence the organizational longevity—of his order (*tarīqa/silsila*). Inevitably the *shaikh* as a *shaikh* reshapes the way in which his followers think about all antecedent—and also all subsequent—saints. It is impossible to have an equal distribution of spiritual authority among several Sufi masters, even those joined together in a single order, with a common spiritual pedigree and a common spiritual outlook. The followers of one saint will obviously esteem him not only as the foremost master of his generation but also as the greatest Sufi *shaikh* of all times. 'The axis of the universe', 'the Sultan of the saints', 'the Beloved of God'—these are more than flowery encomia attached as epithets to the names of saints; they reflect the superiority which devotees of Sufi masters ascribe to their *shaikh*, elevating him above all other scriptural and personal modes of spiritual authority.

Yet there is a real difference between the way in which the *shaikhs* themselves viewed their authority during their lifetime (part 1 of the biographical process) and the way in which it was described subsequently by their followers and later generations of Sufis professing loyalty to the deceased saint's memory, and also often to his tomb (part 2 of the biographical process). In Indian Islam, except for the Naqshbandīya (who belong to a later period than the one we are examining)[12], most Sufi masters acknowledge their *pīr* to be greater than themselves. Only at the death of the *pīr*, and through the inheritance of his mystic regalia (a transference of such moment that there are often fierce contests for them among rival factions of a saint's biological as well as spiritual progeny),[13] will a successor saint claim to be the greatest among equals, i.e., the dominant successor (*khalīfa*) among all those who have been designated successors to his *pīr*.

What emerges is a paradox of immense importance for understanding Sufi biographies. The paradox is shaped by overlapping yet conflicting theological/devotional attitudes in institutional Sufism.

During his own lifetime a saint would claim that his *pīr*—whether living or dead—is greater than he is, and that all spiritual authority accruing to him came from his master's beneficence. The hieratic loyalty implied also assumes an atavistic dimension: if any *pīr* is greater than his contemporary successor, then the *pīr* of the former, i.e., the grand *pīr* of the saint under consideration, is greater than both of them. One would then deduce that the first *pīr* or founding member of an order should be the greatest *shaikh* of all time. Just such a set of hieratic, atavistic presuppositions has operated in both the cultic and the literary remembrance of many saints. Beyond India, for instance, Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (d. 1166), who probably was not a Sufi *shaikh* at all in the sense that he consciously thought of himself as founding a mystical order, has been lauded as *pīr-i pīrān* 'the *pīr* of *pīr*s', in part due to the later growth of his order and the construction of a magnificent tomb shrine over his grave in Baghdad, but in part also due to the wealth of biographical/hagiographical literature celebrating his unique power (*baraka*).

The case is different for Indian saints of the Sultanate period. For instance, the pioneer of the Chishtīya in south Asia is remembered chiefly though the cult surrounding his tomb shrine. In terms of literary legacy, Muīn ud-dīn, though the first Chishtī, is not the greatest. His career is devoid of the factual detail that has been preserved, for instance, for the fourth major Chishtī *shaikh* of north India, Nīẓam-ud-dīn. The sharp contrast between fact and fame, knowledge and legend in the case of Muīn ud-dīn is highlighted in the Mughal period when even the most scrupulous biographer of saints, Abd al-Ḥaqq, had to rely on dubious dicta in order to amplify the meagre literary testament of Muīn ud-dīn.[14]

The disparity between Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī and Muīn ud-dīn Chishtī, or between Muīn ud-dīn and Niẓām ud-dīn, in their respective rankings as saints among later generations of Sufis goes to the heart of the problem we are trying to assess: why do certain saints gain extraordinary fame, others moderate fame, and others no fame at all? A graphic illustration of the outcome of this process occurs in the writings of a fourteenth–fifteenth century Chishtī author. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far practised what might be termed dream writing: he often had visions of the Truth and wrote them down as fact. In one of his visions he met all the deceased Sufi masters of every generation and every place on the face of the earth. It is an enthralling, if eerie, beatific vision, at the conclusion of which he declares: 'Of all the saints,

only two have entered the station of the Beloved, and other than them no one else has reached there. And who are these? One is Muḥyī ud-dīn Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, and the other is Shaykh Niẓām ud-dīn Badāūnī. Both of them are inspired by the spirit of Aḥmad [another name for Muḥammad, suggesting their proximity to, but distinct identity from, the Prophet of God.]'[15] Neither the *pīr* of Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, Naṣīr ud-dīn,[16] nor the first Chishtī *shaikh* of Hindustan, Muīn ud-dīn, are put on the same high spiritual footing as Abd al-Qādir and Niẓām ud-dīn. By the end of the fourteenth century, it seems safe to infer, Abd al-Qādir and Niẓām ud-dīn had come to symbolize, not only for Muḥammad ibn Jafar but for many mystically-minded Muslims of south Asia, the highest non-Indian and Indian Sufi masters that the human race had produced.

In short, the literary legacy of a saint does make a crucial difference in his posthumous 'ranking': while each saint reshapes as well as continues the spiritual tradition he inherits, it is his followers who elevate him to a distinctive rung of mystical attainment as much through the way they depict him in writing as through the cultic rituals they associate with his tomb shrine. To illustrate this thesis in detail we will restrict ourselves to a topical survey of the earliest literature concerning the first five *shaikhs* of the Chishtī order in north India. They are: Muīn ud-dīn, d. 1236 in Ajmer, Rajasthan; Quṭb ud-dīn, d. 1235 in Delhi; Farīd ud-dīn, d. 1265 in Ajodhan, Panjab; Niẓām ud-dīn, d. 1325 in Delhi; Naṣir ud-dīn, d. 1356 in Delhi. There are several literary genres from which may be gleaned biographical information about these saints. *Prima facie* evidence comes from the *malfūẓāt*, recorded conversations of the major *shaikhs* compiled by their disciples, often under the direct guidance of the *shaikh* whose words were recorded. Supplementing the *malfūẓāt* are two other kinds of literature, more didactic and less personal than the *malfūẓāt*: *maktūbāt*, letters of clarification or guidance, written by the *shaikhs* to their disciples, to lay acquaintances and, occasionally, to other *shaikhs*; and *ishārāt*, thematic treatises, ranging from instructional tracts to speculative essays, written by the *shaikhs* themselves or by disciples at the direction of their *shaikhs*.

Of these literary kinds by far the most popular were the *malfūẓāt*. Often, to provide more information about famous saints, spurious *malfūẓāt* were composed and circulated; some of them even originated from an early date contemporaneous with, or soon after the death of, the saints whose words they were allegedly recording. In the course

of time, spurious *maktūbāt* and *ishārāt* also appeared under the name of a famous *shaikh*.[17]

A fourth kind of literature, *tazkīra*s, set forth actual biographies of *shaikhs* and their followers. One very important proto-*tazkīra* for the Sultanate Chishtīya, *Siyar al-awliyā* 'Biographies of Saints', was composed in the mid-fourteenth century,[18] but it was not till the Mughal period that *tazkīra* writing came into vogue among Indo-Muslim Sufis, and the accuracy of the biographical material, both oral and literary, incorporated into *tazkīra*s varied widely. The best, such as *Akhbār al-akhyār*, 'Accounts of the Righteous' of Abd al-Ḥaqq, relied heavily on authentic *malfūẓāt*, supplemented by *maktūbāt* and *ishārāt* also well attested as genuine writings of the saint in question.

Because the *tazkīra* information is derivative, most of what can be gleaned as likely fact about the first five Chishtī masters is located in *malfūẓāt*. None of these *shaikh*s themselves wrote a book, nor was any contemporaneous account containing 'objective' or 'negative' data written about them. To understand the biographical core which has shaped the subsequent literary and popular perception of these men we have to rely on *malfūẓāt*, and of the *malfūẓāt* that were both renowned and authentic, two stand out: *Fawāid al-fuād*, 'Comforts for the Heart', a selection of Niẓām ud-dīn's conversations on various topics between 1307 and 1322 recorded by one of his lesser disciples but a noted poet, Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī;[19] and *Khair al-majālis*, 'The Best of Assemblies', the distillation of Naṣir ud-dīn's conversations compiled by one of his lesser disciples, also a poet, Ḥamīd Qalandar.[20] As literary works, the two are barely comparable. *Khair al-majālis* lacks the simple elegance and insights of *Fawāid al-fuād*. Ḥamīd Qalandar was not a poet of the calibre of Amīr Ḥasan. Should one then conclude that Naṣīr ud-dīn, who is far less famous than Niẓām ud-dīn, would have been more celebrated had he attracted a more skilful litterateur amongst his disciples? This is precisely the point where the influence of personality seems to interact with the vagaries of fate in determining the literary legacy of the Sultanate Chishtīya: Niẓām ud-dīn himself exhibited what Digby has described as 'a refined sensibility to poetry and music,' and drew towards him not only the spiritually aspiring but also the poetically talented; others saw in him the touchstone of their own aspirations. It is therefore hardly surprising that one of the earliest spurious *malfūẓāt* attributed to Niẓām ud-dīn was erroneously circulated as the work of another

poet-disciple, a literary figure even more skilled and famous than Amīr Ḥasan, Amīr Khusrau Dehlawī, known as the 'Parrot of India' due to the haunting beauty of his numerous and oft quoted verses.[21]

Niẓām ud-dīn has never been the subject of an extensive biographical study, nor has the interface between the great *shaikh* and the poet-disciple who was his first biographer ever been examined. To determine what, if anything, was distinctive about Niẓām ud-dīn's spiritual profile we will examine passages from both *Fawāid al-fuād* and *Siyar al-awliyā* which depict the inevitable tensions and seeming paradoxes earlier enumerated as common to successful Sufi masters.

Nowhere in *Fawāid al-fuād* do we learn that Niẓām ud-dīn was a *sayyid*, i.e., a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through Alī. Only in *Siyar al-awliyā* are we told that the *shaikh* came from a *sayyid* family of Bukhara in Central Asia. By contrast, two anecdotes from *Fawāid al-fuād* suggest that, in Niẓām ud-dīn's view, it is how a person acts that reveals whether or not he is a genuine descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad.[22]

The threshold experience for Niẓām ud-dīn was his resolve to seek a *shaikh*. In *Fawāid al-fuād* he describes the event which changed his life:[23]

> One day I was reading a paean to Muḥammad when a singer named Abū Bakr, who had visited Multan and Ajodhan [two major Panjabi commercial centres], came to my teacher and began to narrate experiences of his journey. He began with an account of shaykh Bahā ad-dīn Zakariya and recited a poem in his praise. After that, he began to shower encomia on Bahā ad-dīn, saying that everyone in Multan was so preoccupied with prayers and meditations that even slave girls, while grinding corn, would recite the name of God. This story did not touch my heart.
>
> After that, he told another story, about how he had proceeded from Multan to Ajodhan and seen a mighty king there. In short, when the praises of Shaykh al-Islam Maulana Shaykh Farīd ad-dīn—may God sanctify his grave!—fell on my ears, I developed a sudden and intense love for him and began to repeat his name ten times after every prayer. So intense was my love for him that all my friends came to know of it. Whenever they approached me with some request, they would say, 'Swear by Shaykh Farīd (that we may obtain such-and-such).'

Other events confirmed in Niẓām ud-dīn's mind the desire to proceed to Ajodhan and to meet his future master. The day of that eventual meeting became etched in his mind no less firmly than the occasion of his initial impulse to love Shaikh Farīd in preference to any other *shaikh*:[24]

On the first day that I had the honor of going into his presence, the first thing I heard from the Shaykh was the verse:

'O you separation from whom has roasted many a heart,
The yearning to meet you has deluged & ruined many a soul.'

After that, I wanted to confess the strong urge I had to kiss his feet. But the awe of his presence had overwhelmed me. I only managed to say this much: 'The desire to kiss your feet has been very strong.'

He perceived the effect of awe on me. (In Arabic) he said:

'Everyone who enters is (at first) overcome.'

Secondly, Niẓām ud-dīn was thoroughly familiar with the Qurān and *ḥadīth*. He was also conversant with the literature then extant on juridical, theological and also mystical topics. So zealous was he as a student in Delhi that his classmates had labelled him Niẓām ud-dīn Baḥḥāth, Niẓām ud-dīn 'the Debator'. Yet once he met Farīd ud-dīn and embarked on the Sufi path, his bookishness bothered him. According to *Siyar al-awliyā*,[25] after he swore allegiance (*baiat*) to Shaikh Farīd, Niẓām ud-dīn's first question was: 'What is your command? I will abandon scholarship and pursue my devotions and supererogatory prayers.' Farīd ud-dīn replied: 'I do not restrain anyone from learning. Do both till one predominates. A dervish should have some measure of learning.'

Whether or not this anecdote is an accurate narration of an actual conversation, it clearly reflects the tension between scholarship and sainthood with which Niẓām ud-dīn, and every successful *shaikh*, never ceased to struggle. For, despite his commitment to Shaikh Farīd, Niẓām ud-dīn's bookishness did not leave him quickly. At one point in *Fawāid al-fuād* he confesses having committed an unintentional act of arrogance against his *shaikh*: during a class on Sufi doctrine he became more concerned with the textual accuracy of the book being studied than Farīd ud-dīn's commentary on it. Farīd ud-dīn was enraged. He unleashed a volley of saintly fury that drove Niẓām ud-dīn from the Ajodhan hospice and pushed him to the verge of suicide. Only the intervention of one of Farīd ud-dīn's sons paved the way for Niẓām ud-dīn's eventual restoration to his *shaikh*'s favour.[26]

Frequently, the tension between book learning and mystical insight prompts Niẓām ud-dīn to praise intuition in his conversations. The following anecdote from *Fawāid al-fuād*, for instance, manages to affirm simultaneously the sanctity of the written Word *and* the superiority of illiteracy:[27]

> Khwāja Ḥasan was illiterate, [noted Shaykh Niẓām ad-dīn]. He could not read. People would come to him and, placing a piece of paper and a tablet before him, would begin to write some lines, a sample of poetry, a sample of prose, some in Arabic, some in Persian; of every sort they would write some lines. And in the midst of these lines they would include a single line from a verse of the Word of God. Then they would ask Khwāja Ḥasan, 'Of all these lines, which is from the Quran? He would point to the Qurānic verse, saying, 'It is this!' 'But you can't read the Quran,' they would protest; 'how can you tell that this is a Qurānic verse?' He would reply, 'I see a light in this line that I do not see in the other lines of writing.'

Niẓām ud-dīn's total dependence on his *shaikh* is evident from passages already quoted, and yet the austerities he practises are distinctly his own. It is the later text, *Siyar al-awliyā*, which calls repeated attention to this aspect of the saint's discipline, and in one passage even goes so far as to suggest that compassion for the real poor is the root motive for his extensive fasting:[28]

> Niẓām ad-dīn maintained a strict personal regimen. They say that in the latter part of his life, when he had passed 80 years of age, he continued to excel in this discipline, fasting continuously. At the time of *iftār* [breaking of the fast], he would eat very little. When food was brought in the early morning, he would usually refuse it. A servant would plead with him, 'Our master has eaten very little at *iftār*, and he is also taking very little in the morning. What will become of him? His health will decline.' To which the Shaykh would reply: 'Think how many poor people and beggars are suffering hunger and deprivation, huddled around the mosques and sleeping in the streets of the city—how can this food go down my throat?' And after a while, they would take the food away.

Thirdly, Niẓām ud-dīn's compassion for people went beyond fasting and suffering vicariously their hunger. He also experienced on many occasions the tension between a proclivity to prayerful solitude and a commitment to helping others. *Fawaid al-fuād* resolves this tension through the appearance of a mysterious youth, probably Khiḍr (see footnote 7), who also augurs Niẓām ud-dīn's future fame:[29]

> I thought to myself [mused Niẓām ad-dīn] that I should leave Ghiyaspur (because of the crush of visitors). On that same day at the second time of prayers a handsome, delicate youth appeared before me. His first words were:
>
> That day that you became the moon you knew not
> That you'd be the place to which the world looks up.

> Then he said, 'A person should not set out to become famous. If by chance he does become famous, he should act in such a way that on the Day of Resurrection he will not be embarrassed before the Prophet Muḥammad.' And then he added, 'What power, what gain is there in turning a deaf ear to people and busying oneself with God? True benefit comes from remaining in the midst of people while constantly remembering God.'

Some of his disciples even felt that Niẓām ud-dīn was too attentive to other people. The historian Ẓiyā ud-dīn Baranī who like Amīr Ḥasan and Amīr Khusrau was a courtier in the Sultan's entourage at Delhi, was also, like them, a lay disciple of the saint. In his *Ḥasratnāma* 'Book of Regret', partially excerpted in *Siyar al-awliyā*, he paints a vivid picture of Niẓām ud-dīn's liberality . . . and also his crisp turn of speech as a former debator:[30]

> One day I went to see the Shaykh. He was occupied from Ishraq to Chasht prayers (i.e., from daybreak till noon) in doing God's work. On that day many of God's servants were waiting to be made his disciples. I was thinking to myself just then that the saints of old exercised great restraint in making disciples, while Shaykh Niẓām ad-dīn liberally extended his hand to the elite and to the non-elite alike, making all sorts of people his disciples. I was about to ask about this when the Shaykh intuited my apprehension: 'Ask me anything,' he said, 'but do not ask me why I give the hand of discipleship to all comers without first examining them.—It is out of fear of hell that people have cast themselves on the protection of the lovers of God. Hence the Shaykhs have made disciples from both the elite and the masses.'

More problematic than any of such tensions is the *absence* of any tension between family life and ascetical pursuits in the career of Niẓām ud-dīn. Unlike most Sufi masters and nearly all male Muslims, Niẓām ud-dīn did not marry. The reason he gives for pursuing a celibate life, in seeming disregard of the prophetic *sunna* (Muḥammad had twelve wives, though he only cohabited with two, Khadīja and, after her death, Āīsha), is itself strange. According to *Fawāid al-fuād*,[31] his abstinence came at the direct command of his *shaikh*, curiously, as a further rebuke for a display of arrogance relating to book knowledge. The explanation may also suggest, however, that Niẓām ud-dīn honoured the explicit command of his *shaikh* more than the model behaviour of the Prophet.

While Niẓām ud-dīn did not have to juggle to perform the duties of both a family man and the pupil of a Sufi master, as did his Chishtī

predecessors, Muīn ud-dīn, Quṭb ud-dīn and also Farīd ud-dīn, his outlook on women and marriage was conventional by the standards of his time, sexist by ours. An anecdote from *Fawāid al-fuād* is again graphically illustrative. Once, to explain how a true man of God is unmindful of even food and sleep (i.e., sex), Niẓām ud-dīn told the following story:[32]

> There was an aged saint who lived on the bank of a river. One day he asked his wife to take food to a dervish residing on the other side of the river. His wife protested that crossing the river would be difficult. 'When you go to the bank of the river,' replied the saint, 'command the water to part and provide a way for you out of respect for your husband who never slept with his wife.' The wife was perplexed at these words. 'How many children have I borne this man?' she said to herself. 'Yet I cannot protest since it is the order of my husband.' Dutifully she took the food to the bank of the river, spoke the message to the water, which parted so that she could pass through the middle. After reaching the other side, she set the food down before the dervish, and the dervish ate it in her presence. 'How shall I recross the river?' she asked him. 'How did you come?' he asked. She repeated the words of her husband. On hearing this, the dervish said: 'Go to the bank of the river and tell it to provide a way for you out of respect for the dervish who never ate food for thirty years.' The woman, bewildered, came to the water's edge, repeated the message, and the river again parted, allowing her to return to the side from which she came.
>
> Once home, the woman fell at the feet of her husband and implored him to tell her the meaning of the messages that had been conveyed to her by him and by the other dervish. 'Look,' said the saint, 'I never slept with you to satisfy the passions of my lower self. I slept with you only to provide you with what was your due. In reality, I never slept with you. As to that other dervish, he, too, never ate food for thirty years to satisfy his appetite or for the pleasure of filling his stomach; he ate only to have the strength to obey God's will.'

In the light of this anecdote, it would be absurd to deny that Niẓām ud-dīn believed in *karāmāt* or miracles. Many miracles are recounted about other saints in *Fawāid ul-fuād*; none are performed or claimed by Niẓām ud-dīn himself. In *Siyar al-awliyā*, however, some miracles are attributed to the *shaikh* (e.g., his nightly passage from Delhi to Mecca in order to circumambulate the Kaaba, implying that he performed the pilgrimage, a canonical requirement that otherwise was not fulfilled during his lifetime). Yet coupled with these miracles is an insistence on curtailing their demonstration. 'For real men [i.e., for Sufis],' the saint remarks in *Fawāid ul-fuād*,[33] 'revealing [divine

secrets] and performing miracles are a hindrance in the Path. True work consists of maintaining love.' *Siyar al-awliyā*, which formalizes and often extends the meaning of Niẓām ud-dīn's *dicta* in *Fawāid al-fuād*, attributes a further statement to him on miracles.[34] 'The manuals on spiritual progress list a hundred stages of spiritual advancement. Ninety-seven of them pertain to disclosing secrets and performing miracles. If the traveller remains content with these ninety-seven, how can he reach the last three? One must see *karāmāt* in the proper perspective.' With respect to prophetic miracles (*mujizāt*), however, Niẓām ud-dīn is adamant about accepting them as real and necessary occurrences. When queried about Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, for instance, the saint declares:[35] 'Believe firmly and do not try to investigate. . . . One should have faith in matters of religion; one should not persist in exploring or scrutinizing them.'

In short, Niẓām ud-dīn's attitude toward miracles varies: When they are performed by prophets, he advocates full acceptance of them; he accepts them in certain instances when they are performed by minor saints, and to a limited extent when they are due to Sufis.

The linchpin of Niẓām ud-dīn's charisma as an exemplar for other Sufis is without doubt the depth of his spiritual passion or ecstasy. Sensitivity to both poetry and music was documented in the *Fawāid al-fuād* accounts of his initial attraction to Farīd ud-dīn and their subsequent meeting. Passages from *Fawāid al-fuād* also poignantly invoke the saint's instinct for enraptured moments:[36]

> Concerning the death of saints, one of those present told the story of a certain saint who expired [i.e., died] while slowly repeating the name of God. The eyes of Niẓām ud-dīn filled with tears, as he recited the following quatrain:
>
> I come running to the end of Your street.
> Tears are washing and washing my cheek.
> Union with You—what else can I seek?
> My soul I surrender as Your name I repeat.

Siyar al-awliyā also refers repeatedly to Niẓām ud-dīn's ecstasies, often the outcome of late night prayer vigils. One especially famous anecdote distils the saint's mood through the verse of his poet-disciple, Amīr Khusrau:[37]

> Every night Shaykh Niẓām ud-dīn remained alone in his cell. He would bar the door and pass the hours in contemplation of the divine mysteries. When day broke, everyone who saw the glow on his face would think him

to be intoxicated. From staying awake all night, he caused his blessed eyes to redden. Amīr Khusrau, who often saw him in this state, has captured the mood of the Shaykh's nocturnal piety in the following fragment:

> You seem to be a reveller of the night.
> In whose tender embrace did you pass the night
> That even now your drunken eyes reveal
> The morning traces of that fiery wine?

An intense regimen revolving between nightly solitude in prayer and daytime solicitude for the needs of others did not, however, preclude the saint's observance of the duties obligatory on him as a Muslim. The pilgrimage to Mecca was an exception. With reference to the weekly congregational prayer, for instance, Niẓām ud-din goes so far as to warn that 'if one fails to go to Friday prayer once, a black dot will appear on the heart; if twice, two black dots; if three times, the whole heart will become black.'[38]

As was the case with other Sufi masters, it was Niẓām ud-dīn's activities during the last days of his earthly existence that were taken to be a summation of his whole devout, ascetic, compassionate life. Those events fall beyond the period of *Fawāid al-fuād*, and thus *Siyar al-awliyā* is the sole source of information we have for completing the saint's biography. Even if its narrative is exaggerated or formalized, it must be accorded a greater likelihood of factual accuracy than other portions of the book, since the saint's disciples would have attempted to transmit orally and accurately, the tradition of Niẓām ud-dīn's approach to his own death:[39]

> For forty days before his death Shaykh Niẓām ud-dīn ate nothing! As the end approached, he said, 'The time of prayer has come; have I said my prayers?' If his followers replied, 'Yes, you have said them,' then he would reply, 'I must say them again.' He would perform every prayer twice, and add, 'I am going, I am going.'
>
> He instructed his servant Iqbāl: 'If anything of any sort remains in this house, it will have to be accounted for on Judgement Day. You must distribute everything, except the minimum which is necessary for the daily subsistence of the dervishes.' But then he would correct himself: 'These are the effects of a dead man—why should they be preserved? Give it *all* away and sweep the room clean.'
>
> As soon as they cleared the storerooms, a host of people gathered and snatched up the goods. Then the servants pleaded, 'But we are poor men. After you have gone, what will become of us?' 'The charity which will arrive at my grave will suffice for you,' he rejoined. 'Who will be able to divide it up among us?' they asked. 'That man who is able to relinquish his own portion' was the Shaykh's reply.

The preceding passage and also many other passages from *Siyar al-awliyā* make it clear that Niẓām ud-dīn received numerous, often sizeable charitable donations. Yet he rigorously adhered to the principle of dispensing whatever he received as quickly and efficaciously as possible. Nowhere does the literature tell us what criteria were used. One is left to conclude that the saint, though removed from the world, still knew what were the needs of those who continued to live in its midst.

Avoiding pre-eminent people who enjoyed secular authority and/or amassed wealth was perhaps the principal paradox in Niẓām ud-dīn's long residence at Ghiyaspur. His abode and his hospice lay on the outskirts of the major city of the Delhi Sultanate; had he lived elsewhere and been the same kind of person, it is unlikely that he would have been remembered as more than a minor Sufi saint. His fame, in large part, derives from the fact that not only was he born into a Muslim male élite family but was a resident urban *shaikh* by choice. He was accessible to both the non-élite and the élite, as the extant biographical literature repeatedly states, and yet it was the élite who helped to establish his enduring fame. Among his most prominent lay disciples were the nonpareil poet, Amīr Khusrau, and the cynical historian, Ẓiyā ud-dīn Baranī. Both of them earned their pay and gained their renown through the royal court. Though Niẓām ud-dīn refused to see the courtiers, he benefited from the association which these lay disciples had with the worldly institution of the Delhi Sultanate and its administrative-cultural offices. The contradiction between the reclusive, apolitical saint and the courtiers who were at the same time his disciples, is not solved in *Fawāid al-fuād*, perhaps because its author, Amīr Ḥasan, was himself a courtier. In *Siyar al-awliyā*, however, the problem is broached on two fronts: Niẓām ud-dīn is said to have reserved the closest bond of discipleship for those who, like him, were totally detached from the world. At one point he allegedly declared:[40] 'Of *khirqa*s (that is, cloaks signifying successorship), only four actually confer successorship; all the others have been *khirqas* of blessing.' Secondly, from time to time Niẓām ud-dīn is shown to have distanced himself from those who were his lay disciples but still involved in the world. Amīr Khusrau may have been the *shaikh*'s dearest human companion, yet by the high standards which Niẓām ud-dīn set for himself and for his closest disciples, the great poet could not be a soul brother of the great saint. The unbridgeable gulf between them is evoked in a single anecdote from *Siyar al-awliyā*:[41]

> Once at a musical gathering presided over by the Shaykh, Amīr Khusrau rose up in an ecstasy of joy, as was common to Sufis while hearing religious verse sung. Shaykh Niẓām ud-dīn objected to this, saying, 'You are connected with this world; you are not permitted to rise up.'

In sum, there were ample contradictions, tensions and paradoxes in the life of the most famous Delhi saint of the Sultanate period. None were peculiar to Niẓām ud-dīn, however. All his Chishtī predecessors, and all successful Sufi masters of every generation in every region of the Islamic world, had to face the same or similar issues. As Muslims, they had to be inferior to Muḥammad. As guides, they had to be higher than other men, both the élite and non-élite. Functionally, they straddled the world beyond and the world here-and-now for many of their co-religionists, representing unique vehicles of communication with the divine presence and to the tangible benefits reserved for lovers of God. Inevitably there were paradoxes, both acknowledged and unacknowledged. During his lifetime, it was the way in which a saint faced conflicting demands—between prophetic and mystical models of behaviour, between ascriptive and achieved values—that often determined his ranking among peers. The great saint was one who held seemingly irreconcilable tensions in a delicate, unresolved balance. Lesser saints could not do that. Nor could biographers of saints. Like other followers of a particular *shaikh*, his biographers tended to make him conform to expected norms of conduct, often by flattening or eliminating paradoxes (e.g., through the introduction of miracles) in their portrait of the deceased master.

With respect to Indo-Muslim Chishtī *shaikhs*, in general, and Niẓām ud-dīn, in particular, it would be convenient if the two-stage biographical process were mirrored by a two-stage literary process. One could simply conclude that *Fawāid al-fuād*, or any *malfūẓāt* which closely approximates the actual discourse of a great saint, will give the most accurate biographical raw material for reconstructing his life and thought; while *Siyar al-awliyā*, or other *tazkira*s which are not compiled till well after the saint's death, will reflect inflated memories, conscious rewording or other distortions because their authors incorporate into the saint's biography the expectations of his family and followers, not the least of whom were custodians and beneficiaries of his tomb shrine.

Unfortunately, the material is too complex to admit of such a neat segmentation suggesting a uniform interface between the biographical

and literary processes. *Fawāid al-fuād*, though early and of inestimable value, is chronologically limited: it only records conversations from a fifteen year period of the saint's more than eighty years. It is also implicitly compromised at numerous points by the compiler's outlook: Amīr Ḥasan is himself a courtier and a rival poet to Amīr Khusrau. (Khusrau's name, for instance, does not appear in *Fawāid al-fuād*, though later tradition attempts to portray him and Ḥasan as the closest of friends.) Many of the paradoxes which we have outlined above could not be formulated on the evidence of *Fawāid al-fuād* alone; lacking them, however, the saint's biographical profile would be skewed. *Siyar al-awliyā*, on the other hand, though late in composition, inflated in style and perhaps distorted on some points of fact, does present a complete chronology of Niẓām ud-dīn. It also incorporates evidence from other viewpoints than the author's, e.g., the *Ḥasratnāma* of Ẓiyā ud-dīn Baranī and oral traditions current among the saint's followers. Most important, by trying to resolve some of the paradoxes implicit in *Fawāid al-fuād*, it actually helps us to see at just which points the great saint did *not* conform to the expected norms of behaviour.

The subsequent influence of both *Fawāid al-fuād* and *Siyar al-awliyā* on the tradition of Sufi biographical writing in south Asia lies beyond the scope of this essay. In each case it was formidable and lasting, not only with respect to the Chishtī order but also for other major saints of different Sufi orders. The process of 'enacted biography' among Indo-Muslim mystics may, in fact, be charted from these two works of fourteenth-century Sultanate India. At the very least, one can assert that the biographical process initiated among the Chishtīa emphasised both individual achievement and recurrent patterns of expected behaviour. Neither Niẓām ud-dīn nor his successors were the mere metaphors whom Clifford Geertz observed in Indonesian and Moroccan biographical narratives.[42] The 'enacted biography' outlined an ideal, but it did not serve as a blueprint imposed restrospectively on all saints. As we have seen in the comparison and contrast of evidence from *Fawāid al-fuād* and *Siyar al-awliyā*, even the posthumous retouching of Niẓām ud-dīn's halo allows the rough edges of his distinctive discipline to be as evident to future generations as it was to those who first observed and worshipped him as a saint.

NOTES

1. Parallels to institutional Sufism as a mass movement are not lacking in medieval Christendom. With a transposition of names, dates, characters and creedal markings, much of what W. Clebsch describes as characteristic of Christian mystics during the Holy Roman Empire, especially the shift from public to private spheres of penitential, ascetical observances, could also be applied to Indo-Muslim Sufis of the Sultanate period. See W. Clebsch, *Christianity in European History* (New York, 1979), pp. 131–75.
2. See the critique of Bruce B. Lawrence in *Religious Studies Review* 4/3(July 1978), pp. 174–5.
3. M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1974), vol. II, p. 252.
4. Sharafuddīn Manerī, *The Hundred Letters*, tr. P. Jackson (New York, 1980), p. 240.
5. Manerī, *The Hundred Letters*, pp. 240–1.
6. Excerpted from notes on A. Schimmel, 'Sufi Biographies', a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society for the Study of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio, 27 April 1979.
7. Khiḍr or Khaḍir is an anonymous antinomian figure linked to Moses in the Qur'ān 18:60–82. His superiority to the most famous Hebrew prophet demonstrated there has provided a scriptural antecedent for claiming extra-prophetic knowledge on behalf of Muslim saints.
8. Simon Digby, 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī (1456–1537 A.D.): The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi' in K. A. Nizami ed., *Medieval India—A Miscellany* (Delhi, 1975), pp. 17–18.
9. One is Ghāzī Miyān of Bahraich, U.P., an 11th century warrior-martyr of whom no early record of his life exists. See K. A. Nizami, 'Ghāzī Miyān', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, vol. II, pp. 1047–8). The other is Shāh Madār of Makanpur, U.P., a 14th–15th century Jewish convert to Islam who allegedly lived to be 250 years old. See J. A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines* (reprint, Lucknow, 1960), pp. 313–17.
10. Too few studies have been dedicated to the widespread phenomenon of tomb cults, although sociologists and anthropologists have become more attracted to this aspect of institutional Sufism in recent years. For Muslim saints of south Asia, the pioneering monograph of Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700* (Princeton, 1978) and other writings by him have illumined the proprietary interests that shaped many of the functions in these pervasive cults.
11. See Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (London & Teheran, 1978).
12. The views of the Naqshbandī masters are aptly summarised in a single aphorism: 'The end is included in the beginning', i.e., each disciple begins where his master ended, and so the former necessarily surpasses, or at least should expect to surpass, the latter. Despite this unusually progressive view of spiritual development and the transfer of intuitive power, the earliest Indian Naqshbandīs, viz., Bāqībillāh (d. 1599–1600) and Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624) are still accorded higher esteem than their later followers, e.g., Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān, Shāh Ghulām Alī, Khwāja Mīr Dard,

etc. See Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal & London, 1971), esp. p. 61; and also Bruce B. Lawrence, 'Mystical and Rational Elements in the Early Religious Writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan' in Y. Friedmann ed., *The Rose and the Rock: Mystical and Rational Elements in the Intellectual History of South Asian Islam* (Durham, N.C., 1979), pp. 64–9.

13. With respect to the Sultanate Chishtīya, Digby has provided a brilliant, comprehensive assessment of the difficulty involved in ascertaining the exact nature of the *tabarrukāt* (regalia) transferrals. See Simon Digby, '*Tabarrukāt* and Succession among the Great Chishtī Shaykhs of the Delhi Sultanate', in this volume.
14. See Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār fī asrār al-abrār* (Delhi, 1283/1866), pp. 26–8.
15. Abd al-Ḥaqq, p. 134.
16. *Baḥr al-maanī*, from which the biographer Abd al-Ḥaqq has taken this excerpt, was written after 1408; as indicated below, Naṣīr ud-dīn, Muḥammad ibn Jafar's *pīr*, died in 1356, and so he could easily have appeared in this vision.
17. In addition to the spurious literature, it is worth noting that some authentic *malfūẓāt* were infrequently copied and have subsequently been lost, except for occasional excerpts from or brief references to them in the *tazkira* literature.
18. All quotations hereafter will be from Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā* (*SAw*) (Delhi, 1302/1885).
19. All quotations hereafter will be from Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawāid al-fuād (FF)* (Lucknow, 1302/1885).
20. *Khair al-majālis* has been edited with a valuable introduction by K. A. Nizami (Aligarh, 1959).
21. For arguments on the spuriousness of *Afẓal al-fawā'id*, see Bruce B. Lawrence, '*Afzal al-fawāid*—a Reassessment' in Zoe Ansari ed., *Life, Times and Works of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 119–31.
22. *FF*, pp. 40–1 and 243–4.
23. *FF*, p. 149.
24. *FF*, p. 30.
25. *SAw*, p. 107.
26. *FF*, pp. 26–7.
27. *FF*, pp. 10–11.
28. *SAw*, p. 128.
29. *FF*, p. 142.
30. *SAw*, pp. 346–7.
31. *FF*, pp. 245–6.
32. *FF*, pp. 60–1.
33. *FF*, p. 33.
34. *SAw*, p. 394.
35. *FF*, p. 208.
36. *FF*, p. 80.
37. *SAw*, p. 128, though the printed text has a different concluding verse.
38. *FF*, p. 231.
39. *SAw*, pp. 152–3.
40. *SAw*, p. 393.
41. *SAw*, p. 506.

42. Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven, 1968), pp. 25–35. Geertz' extreme remark has been quoted in Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, 'Introduction' to *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Mouton, 1976), p. 10. The dependence of the present essay on many aspects of that same 'Introduction' is evident, especially in trying to analyse Kris' notion of 'enacted biography' as it applies, or does not apply, to the Sultanate Chishtīya.

SHAHJAHANABAD, THE MUGHAL DELHI, 1638–1803
An Introduction

HAMIDA KHATOON NAQVI

Founded in 1638[1] and carefully planned so as to be a 'veritable heaven on earth',[2] Shahjahanabad was perhaps the last important city to be built by an imperial ruler in medieval India.[3] Its span of life as the metropolis of a vast empire did not exceed a century. Even then, during the eighteenth century, as fragmentation of the Empire grew and as political instability spread over the country, the vitals of the city itself were steadily becoming corroded. Nadir Shah's systematic sack of the city in 1739, followed by the repeated incursions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, seems to have sealed the city's fate. It certainly was never again the same.

'Hazrat Delhi' of the Sultans (1206–1505)[4] had already been in eclipse for some 130 years [5] when the Mughal emperor, Shahjahan, decided to resurrect it and to construct a great and glamorous new citadel which would be called by his name.[6] The site he selected was the ninth (or perhaps the eleventh) in a succession of such sites dating back to the fort of Rai Pithora (d.1192)[7] which Sultan Qutubuddin Aibak (1206–10) had selected for his capital.[8] The new Mughal Delhi or Shahjahanabad, lying to the north-east of this oldest site, was evidently chosen, at least in part, for its proximity to the western bank of the river Yamuna.[9] During the intervening centuries, the Yamuna had been moving its banks gradually eastwards thereby leaving ample room for the building of a great new Shahjahanabad. Availability of water was, it seems, a major consideration in determining the specific site of any capital during the previous centuries. For earlier cities, reservoirs had been built to store monsoon waters which flowed down from the Aravalli hills.[10] But the continuous erosion of this range of hills and mounting population pressures may

account for increasing shortages of water.[11] Whatever the case, we know that the Sultans of previous regimes, in seeking dependable and sufficient supplies of water, had continuously been required to shift their citadels.[12] Even in 1638, special canals[13] and reservoirs[14] had to be constructed in order to relieve water shortages in Shahjahanabad.

The hinterland north of Shahjahanabad, however, was rich with alluvial soil.[15] Located below the closing arms of the Yamuna–Sutlej and just next to the north-west turning of the Yamuna–Ganga doab, the city lay within easy reach of major sources of agricultural production. From such granaries, during normal years *banjaras* could carry harvests to supply the needs of the urban population.[16] At the same time, since the Yamuna was navigable the year around as far as Delhi,[17] boats of up to 100 tons provided goods from the extensive hinterlands of the Gangetic plain in the east.[18] Also serving the city with convenient access to agricultural products[19] were important arterial highways, each of which commenced from a city gate which was named after its respective point of destination[20]—Agra,[21] Lahore,[22] Ajmer,[23] or Patna.[24] All of these major roads were lined with shady trees[25] and provided, at regular halting places, adequate arrangements for watering animals,[26] for stopping or resting either in groves of trees or in safe caravan sarais,[27] and even for regular worship. Such places were not free; but, during times when imperial power was strong and efficient, charges were not high.[28]

The dazzling display of splendour and wealth at Shahjahanabad, together with legacies of urban settlement left by earlier Sultans of Delhi, attracted multitudes of newcomers to the city. Lakhs of enterprising people,[29] many of them artisans and traders eager for profit, converged upon the city. Descendants of the Sahans[30] of the old Sultanate were still in the vicinity.[31] Prior to 1785, at least one important Nagarseth, or ceremonial head of a house of merchant-bankers, flourished within the city proper. This can be seen by reference to the Nagarseth *haveli* (mansion) which is marked upon a city map of this period.[32] Similarly, there is evidence showing that jewellers (*jawharyan*) held a prominent place, since an entire ward and a full bazar was named after them.[33] Banyas (as shopkeepers?) abounded,[34] especially foreign merchants such as Armenians,[35] Persians,[36] Central Asians,[37] Kashmiris. People from other parts of India were fully in evidence at the capital, whether as domiciled residents or as transient visitors.[38] Arban sarai, adjacent to Humayun's tomb, could accommodate up to 300 souls at a time and was often full.[39]

Business people were supported by hosts of other functionaries. Money-changers (*sarrafs*) concentrated, among other places, in front of the Fort.[40] There were brokers,[41] writers,[42] transporters,[43] unskilled daily-wage workers,[44] and retail shopkeepers.[45] In *c.* 1785, as many as forty-six bazars (central, exclusive of the *muhalla* ones) were enumerated by Ghulam Muhammad Khan.[46] Amongst these some, such as Khas[47] or Mina,[48] were general markets. Others dealt in specific commodities, for instance: *sabzi mandi*[49] (greengrocer's market); *nil katra*[50] (indigo market); or Khanam bazar which specialized in the sale of military hardware.[51] Nakhas was a daily market held in the mornings for the sale of slaves, beasts and birds.[52] Of all the bazars, the *chawk* of Saadullah Khan, and Chandni Chawk were the best known. Built along with the town itself,[53] these were located in the city centre,[54] and catered to the needs of the upper classes of society. These sections were well planned[55] and handsomely decorated.[56] Of special interest were the Qahwa Khanas in Chandni Chawk[57] with its crowds of intellectuals[58] and the Juma (Friday) Bazar that sprang up on the steps of Jama Masjid for the sale of books and paintings.[59]

The Shahjahanabad craftsmen not only became noted for their production of cotton fabrics[60] but, more particularly, for the excellence of their chintzes,[61] quilts[62] and tie-dyed goods.[63] Also turned out in quantity were fine copper utensils,[64] weapons,[65] paper,[66] leather goods,[67] sugar[68] and indigo.[69] Masons[70] and stonecutters of Delhi long enjoyed an especially high reputation for skills in their craft.[71] Accomplished engineers[72] and subtle architects were able to erect monuments of unsurpassed beauty, elegance, symmetry and durability.[73] In 1739 Nadir Shah was so struck with their workmanship that, like Timur,[74] he carried away 300 masons, 100 stonecutters, 200 carpenters (and 130 writers) with himself to Iran.[75]

Notwithstanding such commerce and industry, Shahjahanabad was primarily an administrative centre. Yet, after 1707 and more particularly after 1739, political activities at the Red Fort, both civil and military, were increasingly turbulent. Indeed, even the defence of the city against the inroads of Maratha or Afghan forces was often abandoned. A succession of effete kings[76] and their retinues suffered while *amirs* with handsome sinecures came into prominence. Not unlike their French counterparts during these decades, these high-born *amirs* immersed themselves in indolence and luxury, nurturing art and patronizing architecture and literature. Gay gatherings for

dance and music,[77] quasi-religious celebrations of *milad*,[78] *muharram*,[79] *urs*,[80] *melas*[81] and other festivals,[82] along with the construction of stately edifices,[83] assumed importance in eighteenth century Shahjahanabad. Poetry was a popular pastime; and these decades witnessed a galaxy of eminent poets, both in Persian[84] and vernacular *rekhta* (Urdu).[85] As the central administration lost control, Persian, the official court language, fell into abeyance and Urdu became more and more prominent. The development of an indigenous Urdu was perhaps the only lasting cultural legacy of eighteenth-century Shahjahanabad.[86] The deepening political crisis prompted intellectuals to write copiously and not dispassionately. *Rekhta* poets, beginning with Khwaja Mir Dard and continuing down to Mirza Ghalib, in addition to themes of love and devotion, wrote melancholy elegies on Shahjahanabad (*Shahr-i-Ashob*) and scholarly treatises focusing upon the regrettable trends of the period.[87] The most prolific writer and political thinker of the age (with an Islamic bias) was Shah Waliullah (1703–62). He was possessed with a missionary zeal to analyse and to resolve the crisis.[88] He attempted to improve the thinking and the attitudes of the next generation. To this end, he revised the current school syllabus.[89] While still extremely inadequate, his attempt marks a change from a purely abstract course into more practical teaching. It signified a keen realization of the prevailing social malaise. Purely secular writers, such as Anand Ram Mukhlis (1699–1750, also a reputed poet) worked on well-worn themes, such as lexicography, biography, history or travel.[90]

Demographic data on Shahjahanabad is scanty. However, a recent writer places the city's maximum population at two million.[91] This may be considered approximately correct. In the Fort surrounding[92] the densely congested area (of 6/7 by 7 *karohs* in *c.* A.D. 1712) two million people could certainly have been accommodated. In the summer of 1661, over 60,000 roofs burned down.[93] This would suggest that the aggregate number of such houses in the city during that year must have run into several lakhs and that it must have multiplied with the decades. Finally, in the 1780s, Ghulam Muhammad Khan not only noticed forty-six central marketing centres but suggested that the actual number of such markets, inclusive of the *muhalla* bazars, would be beyond computation because the number of *muhallas* flourishing in the city was numberless.[94]

Shahjahanabad was built in a semicircular shape within a radius of ten to twelve miles (see above). The octagonal Red Fort, cover-

ing 1,000 yards of its eastern arc,[95] overlooked the river Yamuna. On the western side of the Fort the main artery of the city was 40 yards in width by 1,520 yards in length.[96] Along this radial road lay Kotwali Chabutra, Urdu Bazar, the Chawk of Saadullah Khan and Chandni Chawk. Chandni Chawk square measured 100 by 100 yards.[97] The road running onwards reached Fatehpuri Mosque, sharply turning left, then again right, describing a reversed figure of four until it touched its terminal point at Lahori Gate. This thoroughfare was paved[98] and was furnished with drainage systems,[99] many fountains,[100] and with shady trees on both sides. The renovated Faiz Canal flowed its entire length.[101]

Lanes and *kuchas* branching out of this main street ran irregularly and horizontally in the southern and northern segments of the city, lending it an almost rib-shaped appearance. Exceptions like Kashmiri Kucha, Kucha Qasim Jan or the arched Kucha Turkman apart, the majority of these lanes were narrow, small and winding, presumably both for security and to save space.

Whatever the original plan of the city might have been, a look at the city map exhibits, among other things, the following features: (i) A city layout with an interspersed pattern—*madrassa*s, mausoleums, monasteries, mosques, temples, serais, reservoirs and bazars are all huddled together.[102] Indeed, even the traditionally noted community of 'Saints-and-Divines-of-Delhi',[103] hitherto flourishing outside the city walls, had found it advisable to spread themselves just within or without the *madrassa*s, mosques or monasteries of Shahjahanabad.[104] (ii) The principal artery of the city divided it into two unequal halves. In the northern segment, expansive gardens, *sarais*, *ghats*, and *hammams* predominated; and in the south-western segment, by far the greater population-density prevailed. (iii) The *haveli* complexes of the élites were lesser focal points for the growth of mini-towns, with all their usual urban attributes. This contiguity of *havelis* to the mud and thatch houses of the poor, tended to damage the city skyline. (iv) The city retained a distribution of quarters for different craft communities—for instance, *chamar ka hata* (compound of leather workers), *kucha chini wala*, *kaghzi bazar*, and *nil katra* (the arcade of wax workers). These were again interspersed by the mansions of the great, or by royal monuments. (v) Dramatically situated, adjacent to the Fort and within easy reach of the river bank, lay the washerman's quarter. Moving along the circumference on the inner wall were wine shops,[105] *mandis* and grain *gunjes* for receiving goods

arriving from outside, together with serais and slaughter houses. Another concentric circle at a distance of five or six miles outside the walls could be described by the series of serais built for the travellers and traders who were arriving or departing from Shahjahanabad.[106]

NOTES

1. See H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India* (Bombay, 1968), Chap. I, II, for a fuller study of the city.
2. *Chahar Chaman Brahman* (*C.C.B.*), Chander Bhan Brahman, Ethe, f.51b.
3. Such as Lahore in 1021, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (*T.N.*), Minhaj-es-Siraj (Calcutta, 1864), p. 127; Ahmadabad in 1410, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Sikander Ibn Mahmud, trans. Fazlullah Lutfullah, Dharampore, pp. 31–8; Agra in 1506, *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, Niamatullah, trans. N. Ray (Shantiniketan, 1958), pp. 83–4.
4. *T.N.*, pp. 171, 172, 174, 179 etc.; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Shams Siraj Afif (Calcutta, 1891), p. 22; Barni prefers Shahr, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 46, 58, 59, 62, 133 and so on.
5. F. Monserrate, *The Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, trans. (Oxford, 1922), pp. 95–8; *Haft Aqlim*, Amin Ahmad Razi, vol. I, Ethe, f.153a; W. Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583–1619*, ed. W. Foster (Oxford, 1921), pp. 155–6; Jourdain, *Journal of Jourdain*, ed. W. Foster (Hakluyt Society, London), Series II, vol. XVI, p. 164.
6. *Bahar-i-Sukhan*, Md. Saleh Kamboh, Ethe, f.131a; *Tazkir-i-Nudrat*, Haji Khairullah, Ethe, 76a; François Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire 1656–1668*, trans. Westminster, 1841, vol. I, 241.
7. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* (*A.A.*), II, trans. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1949), pp. 283–4; C. Kayath, *Chahar Gulshan* (*C.G.*), Br. Mus., f.35b. Both these authorities notice eight former sites.
8. *T.N.*, 140.
9. *Bahar*, 131a–b; *C.C.B.*, 52a; *Nudrat*, 76a.
10. Such as Hauz Rani, *T.N.*, 198, 310; Hauz Sultan, Barni, 56, 322; Qasr-i-Hauz, *T.N.*, 195; Hauz-i-Khas, Barni, 417, 526.
11. S. Nangia, *Delhi Metropolitan Region, A Study in Settlement Geography* (Delhi, 1976), p. 8.
12. H. K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi, 1206–1555*, Ch. V, in press, for a discussion of this problem.
13. *C.C.B.*, 55a; *Khulasat-ut tawarikh*, Sajan Rai Bhandari, trans. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 3, 5; *Nudrat*, 76a.
14. *C.C.B.*, 55a; *Khulasat*, pp. 3, 5; *Nudrat*, 76b; Ghulam Muhammad Khan (GMK), *Travels In Upper Hindustan*, Ethe, f.39b.
15. *A.A.*, II, 283.
16. Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, 219; J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcutta, 1932), vol. III., p. 439.
17. W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar* (London, 1920), p. 167.

18. C. W. Forrest, *Cities of India, Past and Present* (London, 1903), p. 162.
19. Afif, p. 310.
20. GMK, 37b. These were Ajmeri, Lahori, Turkman, Kashmiri, Kabuli, Khizri, Mori and Delhi Darwaze (gates).
21. *C.G.*, 106a.
22. T. Coryat, *Early Travels*, ed. W. Foster (Oxford, 1921), pp. 283–4; E. Terry, ibid., p. 293; De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol* (Bombay, 1928), p. 55; *C.G.*, 106a.
23. *C.G.*, 108a.
24. Ibid., 110a.
25. Coryat, *Early Travels*, pp. 283–4; Terry, ibid., p. 293.
26. F. S. Manrique, *Travels of Sebastian Manrique, 1629–43*, trans., vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd. series (Oxford, 1927), p. 184.
27. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, trans. De (Calcutta, 1939), II, p. 175.
28. Coryat, *Early Travels*, p. 248.
29. Bernier, *Travels*, I, p. 282.
30. Barni, 120, 546.
31. Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Muraqqa-i-Mukhlis* (*M.M.*), ed. E. Brelvi (Lahore, 1975), p. 128.
32. GMK, 38b. For the Delhi *seths* of the Sultanate period, Barni, 447.
33. GMK, 38b.
34. J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India* (London, 1889), vol. II, p. 183.
35. Tavernier, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 112.
36. *Khulasat*, 4.
37. Ibid., 5.
38. Ibid.
39. GMK, 42a; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, Dargah Quli Khan (Hyderabad, Deccan), p. 35.
40. Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, p. 184.
41. Tavernier, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 183; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, p. 17.
42. Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, p. 221.
43. *Haft Tamasha*, Mirza Muhammad Qateel, Urdu trans. (Delhi, 1968), p. 73.
44. Bhayya Anand Ram, *Dastur-ul-Amal, Intekhab az Saiyyaq Namah*, Ethe, f.73b.
45. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid* (reprint, Delhi, 1965), p. 277.
46. GMK, 37b–42b.
47. Ibid., 38a.
48. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 272–3.
49. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 249–50; *Akhbarat Darbar-i-Moalla*, Newsletters of the Mughal Court, Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751–1752, ed. B. D. Varma (Bombay, 1949), p. 76.
50. GMK, 39b.
51. Ibid., 38b.
52. P. Mundy, *The Travels of P. Mundy in Europe and Asia 1608–1667*, R. Temple, *Travels in Asia, 1628–34*, Hakluyt Society, Second series (London, 1914), vol. II, p. 189; Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, 251–2; *Khulasat*, 5–6; *Akhbarat*, p. 76; GMK, 41a; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 16–17.
53. *Shahjahan Nama*, Md. Saleh Kamboh (Calcutta, 1923), vol. III, p. 47.

54. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, 245; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 14–19.
55. *Asar*, pp. 133–5, 707; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 14–19.
56. *C.C.B.*, 52a; *Nudrat*, 77a.
57. *C.C.B.*, 52a; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 18, 48.
58. *Chamanistan*, Anand Ram Mukhlis, 1877, p. 42.
59. *Mirat-ul Istelah*, Anand Ram Mukhlis, Br. Museum, p. 179.
60. Manrique, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 180.
61. *Ajaib-i-Duniya*, Anon., Ethe, f.181b; Manrique, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 180.
62. *Ajaib*, 181b.
63. Manrique, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 180.
64. *Ajaib*, 181b.
65. *Dastur-ul-amal-i-Shahjahani* (*D.S.*), Anon., Br. Museum, 44a; GMK, 38b; *Rozenamchah of 1857, Qila-i-Dilli*, ed. trans. K. A. Nizami (Delhi, n.d.), p. 84.
66. *Ejaz-i-Khusravi*, Amir Khusru (Lucknow, 1875–6), vol. iv, pp. 70, 80.
67. *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, G. H. Tabatabai (Calcutta, Madras, 1926) (tr.), vol. I, p. 263.
68. Thevenot, Indian Records Series, *Indian Translation of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. Sen (New Delhi, 1949), p. 68; *Chamanistan*, 51.
69. Thevenot, *Indian Translation*, 68.
70. *Khazain-ul-Fatuh*, Amir Khusru (Calcutta, 1953), p. 120; Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, p. 221.
71. *Nudrat*, 76a; Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, p. 221.
72. *Shahjahan Nama*, vol. III, 28.
73. Naqvi, *Urban Centres*, 66–7.
74. *Zafar Namah*, Sharafuddin Yezdi (Calcutta, 1881), vol. II, p. 124.
75. Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, p. 221.
76. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Calcutta, n.d.), vol. II, p. 263, quoting Warids, 4.
77. *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, 28, 58, 61; *Rud-i-Kausar* (Lahore, 1975), p. 602. For the population of a new quarter of courtesans called Kassabpurah, see *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, 38–9.
78. *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 34–8.
79. Ibid., pp. 50–6; *Tamasha*, pp. 23–4.
80. *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 25, 31–2, 42.
81. *C.G.*, 33a, 34a; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 30, 40.
82. *Tamasha*, pp. 88, 90–1.
83. *Asar*, pp. 300–44, 702–11.
84. Such as Mazhar Jan-i Janan, Sirajuddin Khan Arzu; *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, pp. 40–2, 44–5.
85. Introduced formally by Mir Dard, *Rud*, p. 589; *Asar*, pp. 361–3.
86. *Rud*, p. 602.
87. Ibid., pp. 602–3, 645–9 for the writings of Agha Mohammad Beg Rahat and Mazhar Jan-i Janan.
88. *Rud*, pp. 528–85.
89. Ibid., p. 586.
90. *M.M.*, Introduction, pp. 6–25.
91. V. K. R. V. Rao and P. B. Desai, *Greater Delhi* (Bombay, 1965), p. 27; also Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 282.
92. *Bahjat-ul-Alam*, Hakim Maharat Khan, Ethe, pp. 67–8. 1 *karoh* = 1½ miles.
93. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, 246.
94. GMK, 42a.

95. *Asar*, p. 99.
96. Ibid., p. 133.
97. Ibid., p. 134.
98. GMK, 37b.
99. *Asar*, p. 135.
100. *Nudrat*, 76b.
101. *Shahjahan Nama*, vol. III, p. 47.
102. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 246.
103. *C.C.B.*, pp. 55b–56a.
104. *Asar*, p. 190.
105. Bernier, *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 252–3, for taboo on wine drinking.
106. *C.G.*, pp. 104b, 106a–b, 108a–b, 110a.

CITYSCAPE OF AN IMPERIAL CAPITAL
Shahjahanabad in 1739

STEPHEN P. BLAKE

> Its towers are the resting place of the sun . . .
> Its avenues are so full of pleasure that
> its lanes are like the roads of paradise . . .
> Its climate is beautiful and pleasant . . .[1]

Of all the men who ruled India during the Mughal period, the Emperor Shahjahan (1628–58) displayed the most intense and sophisticated interest in architecture. He had decided opinions of style, definite ideas about what he did and did not like. He once told the *faujdar* of Sirhind, for example, to build his mansion with a garden on one side and a pool on the other.[2] During the daily *darbar* (audience) nobles described their plans to erect buildings and gardens;[3] and when they had finished structures they were proud of, men like Afzal Khan and Dara Shikoh invited the Emperor for a visit.[4]

Shahjahan's passion for building was not limited to Shahjahanabad. He began, soon after assuming office, by redoing the buildings of his predecessors. In the palace fortress at Agra he replaced many of Akbar's structures in sandstone with those of his own design in marble.[5] In the imperial residence at Lahore he pulled down Jahangir's Hall of Private Audience and built it anew in a style of his liking.[6] In both palaces he added new structures: a *Shah Burj* (King's Tower)—a private hideaway open only to princes;[7] and a Hall of Forty Pillars in front of the Balcony of Public Audience—giving protection from the sun and rain for nobles and petitioners.[8]

Thus in 1639 Shahjahan was a man prepared by inclination and experience to found a new capital. Two reasons are given for his decision. The first, common to many newly crowned rulers, was a desire to distinguish himself from his predecessors, a need to stamp on his era an individual and lasting mark. The author of *Maasir al-Umara*, an eighteenth-century biographical work, wrote of

Shahjahan: 'Exalted sultans always had it in mind to cause the world to remember (their reigns) by a permanent monument."[9]

The second was less exalted. Agra, the capital Shahjahan had inherited from his father, had become increasingly unsuitable. A long thin strip of a city sprawled along the banks of the river Yamuna, Agra had long suffered from erosion. The action of the river had cut deep ravines into both banks (some extended nearly to the heart of the city) and had caused many structures along the water's edge to collapse. The city, furthermore, was no longer able to contain the crowds and congestion attendant on the emperor and his court. The main gate of the palace-fortress had become too small for the press of people on court days and during festivals, and many people had been bruised or crushed as they tried to squeeze inside. Overbuilding had also occurred: mansions, shops, and other structures encroached on lanes and thoroughfares, rendering safe and orderly transit difficult or impossible.[10]

Shifting the capital to Lahore, a city that had served as the seat of government under both Akbar and Jahangir, was briefly considered and rejected. Like Agra, Lahore could no longer comfortably house the Emperor and his entourage. Moreover, the plan and style of the city—jumbled, haphazard, without any uniformity or coordination—was unattractive to a man of Shahjahan's sensitivity.[11]

It was in 1639 that Shahjahan instructed the architects, engineers, and astrologers of the imperial household to select for the new capital a beautiful site in a mild climate, a place somewhere in north India between Agra and Lahore.[12] For Shahjahan, as for other pre-modern rulers, choosing the site for a new capital was a serious undertaking. A capital stood as a symbol of the ruler's power and wealth, an example of his ability to order the world about him into regular, harmonious, even beautiful shapes and patterns. In civilizations such as those of the Mughals, where the capital was the *axis mundi*—the centre of the earth and the intersect of the celestial and the mundane—the need to choose an appropriate site was even more acute.[13]

The Emperor's men soon settled on a spot in the Delhi area. As the choice for an *axis mundi*, this site (on a bluff overlooking the river Yamuna) was hard to fault. The Delhi area had contained the capitals of most north Indian states for six hundred years and had held the capital of every Muslim dynasty from the time of Qutb al-Din Aibak (1206–10) until 1506, when the Afghan ruler Sikander Lodi

(1489–1517) moved his centre of government to Agra. Although it had been over eighty years since the area had last held a capital (the Emperor Humayun had ruled from there until his death in 1556), Delhi's role as principal centre of Muslim rule in India had not been forgotten.

The comments of European travellers to Mughal India reflected, by and large, the contemporary understanding of Delhi's past. In 1609 an English visitor to the court of Jahangir described Delhi as 'the chief city or seat royal of the Kings of India'[14]; in 1614 two English travellers wrote of Delhi as 'a Citie . . . which is great and ancient, in times past the Seat of the Kings'[15] and in 1615 an English merchant reported that Jahangir kept the city in good repair because of its position as a former capital and as the birthplace of emperors.[16]

For the Muslims of the mid-seventeenth century the Delhi area had another association, one quite different from the political. The area was a religious centre, a place of pilgrimage, and one of the most important sites in the subcontinent for pious Muslims. Tombs and graves of saints, shaikhs, pirs, and holy men—men like Qutb al-Qutab Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1236), Nizam al-Din Auliya (d. 1324–5), Shaikh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (d. 1356), and Hasrat Baqi Billah (d. 1603)—dotted the countryside.[17] Sujan Rai, author of the late-seventeenth century history *Khulasat al-Tawarikh*, wrote: 'There are so many saints' tombs . . . that their number can't be expressed in writing.'[18] To these centres came thousands of pilgrims (particularly on the *urs* or anniversary of the saint's death) to present offerings, to pray, and to seek advice, comfort, and help.[19] Akbar's activities in 1576, 'He went to the tombs of the great [holy men] and shaikhs'[20] and Shahjahan's in 1633–4, 'He completed . . . a pilgrimage to the tomb of Nizam al-Din. He supplied the keepers of that place with five thousand rupees for good works'[21] are probably representative of the pilgrim population as a whole. As a pilgrimage centre, Delhi acquired an aura of sanctity. A mid-eighteenth century historian described the city as 'one of the old holy places.'[22] And Ghulam Muhammad Khan, who visited Delhi near the end of the eighteenth century, wrote 'Hazrat [revered, respected] Delhi is the guardian of religion and justice. It is a garden of Eden that is populated.'[23]

In choosing the Delhi area as the site for their new city, the Mughals worked with a complex of ideas about religious and political centrality. In 1639 the area was a centre of significance: it held the tombs of religious leaders and drew pilgrims from all over north

India; and, as the traditional centre of Islamic rule in India, it held the tombs of many important nobles and rulers. The author of an early eighteenth century geographical work reveals his understanding of the two-fold significance of Shahjahanabad as the *axis mundi*: '[It] was always the *dar al-mulk* [seat of the empire] of the great sultans and the center of the circle of Islam [*markaz-i dairah Islam*] . . .'[24] Muhammad Salih, an official historian of Shahjahan's reign, wrote 'Its four walls . . . enclosed the center of the earth' [*markaz-i khak*].[25]

Having settled finally on a site, Shahjahan was eager to begin work. On 29 April 1639, at a time determined by the imperial astrologers, Ghairat Khan, *subahdar* of Delhi, ordered the two expert builders of his establishment, Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Hamid, to begin excavating.[26] At this point, in order to ensure the success of the project, Shahjahan is said to have placed the bodies of several freshly beheaded criminals in the trenches as a sacrifice.[27] In two weeks (12 May 1639) initial spade-work on the foundations was completed, and a large number of stone-carvers, builders, and decorators began work on the buildings in the palace-fortress.[28] Princes and high-ranking *amirs*, having received plots of land about the site, ordered plans to be drawn up and work begun on their own mansions.[29] For the next nine years construction proceeded apace.

When Makramat Khan, *subahdar* of Delhi Province, declared the palace ready for habitation Shahjahan was notified. Astrologers were consulted and, on 19 April 1648, Shahjahan entered the *Daulat Khanah-i Khas* (Hall of Special Audience) by the gate fronting the river. To commemorate the completion of his residence and to inaugurate the new capital, Shahjahan ordered a great celebration. The palace-fortress was splendidly turned out. As *pishkash* (ceremonial offering) on this great occasion, Saadullah Khan, the *wazir*, furnished and decorated the Hall of Special Audience, and Ali Mardan Khan, the *aramgah* or *khwabgah* (place of rest or sleep). The roof, walls, and columns of the Hall of Ordinary Audience (*Daulat Khanah-i Khas-o-Am*) were hung with brocaded velvet from Turkey and silk from China. A great canopy of embroidered velvet, 219 by 135 feet, prepared by artisans in an imperial workshop in Ahmadabad, was raised on four silver pillars in the courtyard of the hall of ordinary audience. It stood nearly seventy feet high, held over one thousand people, and was surrounded by a silver railing. The Emperor sat on a special throne enclosed by a golden railing; before him the princes and great nobles sat on smaller thrones. Shahjahan held a

general audience (*bar-i am*) and distributed gifts and honours to the great men of state. Dara Shikoh received a special *khilat* (robe of honour), an elephant, two hundred thousand rupees in cash, and an increase in rank of two thousand *zat*; Saadullah Khan received a special *khilat* and an increase in rank to seven thousand *zat* and seven thousand *sawar*; and, for his work on the palace, Makramat Khan was given a special *khilat* and was elevated to the rank of five thousand *zat* and five thousand *sawar*.[30]

Plan and Build

Historians have too often ignored the plan and build of cities for social, economic, institutional, and political modes of analysis. This is unfortunate for, as a number of scholars have shown, the shape of architectural space is often suggestive of the structure of political, social, and economic relationships.[31] For a city like Shahjahanabad that suffered long years of pillage and anarchy, years in which records, histories, memoirs, and other written materials were destroyed, remains of the urban fabric constitute a major form of evidence.

A massive stone wall twenty-seven feet high, twelve feet thick, and 3.8 miles long encircled Shahjahanabad. Erected during the years 1651–8, this great enclosure was not the first attempt to protect the city. A wall of stone and mud had been thrown up in four months during the latter part of 1650 and had promptly collapsed in the monsoon rains of the following year.[32] The wall was topped by twenty-seven towers and was broken in numerous places by gates and entryways, both large and small. Although it is impossible now to distinguish all the original gates, it is fairly easy to determine the major points of entry constructed by Shahjahan and his immediate successors. Set at regular intervals around the rough semi-circle that joined the northern and southern extremities of the city were seven large gates. These were found, by and large, at the ends of the principal urban arteries and handled the bulk of mounted, vehicular, and pedestrian traffic. They included the Kashmiri, Mori, Kabuli, Lahori, Ajmeri, Turkomani, and Akbarabadi gates. The wall fronting the river was also interrupted by several large gates—the Raj Ghat, Qila Ghat, and Nigambodh gates. A function of these three was to provide Hindus of the city access to the riverside platforms (*ghats*) upon which they burned their dead. Interspersed among the

large entryways, a number of smaller gates allowed pedestrians quick and easy passage to and from the city. Many of these represented the work of important nobles and were located near large mansions. Others stood near places of public importance. Examples include the Zinat al-Masajid gate on the Yamuna, the *farrashkhanah* (wardrobe) gate, and the gates of Gazi al-Din Khan and Ahmad Baksh Khan.[33]

The most prominent topographical features within the area enclosed by the great walls were two hillocks. Jhujalal *Pahari* (Jhujalal Hill), near the north-west wall of the city, held nothing of significance. Bhujalal *Pahari* (Bhujalal Hill), however, occupied a spot near the centre of the enclosure and became the site for the great Friday mosque, the *Jama Masjid*. An extensive piece of low ground separated Bhujalal *Pahari* from the bluff along the Yamuna.[34]

The plan of Shahjahanabad appears to have been based on a design from the ancient Hindu texts on architecture. These texts, the *vastu sastras* (rules for architecture), were part of a larger body of Sanskrit texts called the *silpa sastras* (rules for the manual arts) that established rules for the practice of many mechanical and fine arts. A typical *vastu sastra* contained detailed directions on constructing buildings (both religious and secular), on laying out settlements of different sizes and kinds in different terrains, and on dividing population centres into quarters or neighbourhoods.[35] The *Manasara*, a *vastu sastra* dating to *c.* A.D. 400–600 listed a semi-elliptical design called *karmuka* (bow) as one of the shapes a settlement might take. Such a plan was especially appropriate for a site fronting a river or sea shore.[36]

The *karmuka* design seems to have guided, at least in part, the thinking of Shahjahan's architects. The north–south road that connected the Akbarabadi and Kashmiri Gates of the city and which includes Faiz Bazar represented the bow string. Streets connecting city gates—those running from south to east and connecting the Turkomani and Ajmeri gates with the Lahori Gate, and that running north–east and connecting the Mori and Lahori gates—represented, along with the outer wall of the city, the curved shaft of the bow. Chandni Chawk, which ran from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the Lahori Gate of the city, was the arm of the archer. In a city laid out according to the *karmuka* plan, the most auspicious spot was the juncture of the two cross streets. In the Hindu village, town, or city this spot was occupied by the temple of Vishnu or Shiva. In Shahjahanabad the

palace-fortress of the Emperor stood at this location, the meeting place of Chandni Chawk and Faiz Bazar.

The two major thoroughfares in Shahjahanabad are described in the sources as bazars, streets lined on both sides with shops of merchants, artisans, and others. The largest and richest of these commercial avenues stretched from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the Fathpuri Mosque. Built in 1650 by Jahanara Begum, favorite daughter of Shahjahan, this street was about forty yards wide, 1520 yards long, and contained 1560 shops and porticos. A lovely canal, the *Nahr-i Bihisht* (Canal of Paradise), flowed through the centre of the bazar. On each side of the canal a row of trees provided shade and a place to rest. In the earliest sources, there was no special name for the entire street: it was simply the bazar in the direction of Lahore. However, the bazar was divided into several sections and each of these had its own name. The 480-yard section from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the *chawk* (square) of the *Kotwali Chabutra* (City Magistrate's Platform) was called *Urdu Bazar* (Camp Market). This bazar served the members of the imperial household—soldiers, servants, clerks, artisans, and others—who lived in and around the palace-fortress and who accompanied the emperor when he toured the countryside and resided, for the most part, in a great camp. To the south of the square was the City Magistrate's Platform where criminals were tried and punished in public.

The section from the Kotwali Chabutra to the *chawk* built by Jahanara Begum was about 480 yards long. It was called *Ashrafi Bazar* (Moneychangers' Market) or *Jauhari Bazar* (Jewellers' Bazar) and seems to have been the financial section of the street. The *chawk* was an octagon with sides one hundred yards long; a large pool occupied its centre. To the north Jahanara built a *sarai* (inn) and a garden, and to the south a *hammam*. On certain nights the moonlight reflected pale and silvery from the central pool and gave to the area the name *Chandni Chawk* (Silver or Moonlight Square). Over time this name slowly displaced all others until finally the entire bazar, from the Lahori Gate to the Fathpuri Masjid, became known as Chandni Chawk. The final section of the street ran about 560 yards from Chandni Chawk to the Fathpuri Mosque and was called Fathpuri Bazar. In front of the mosque (built by a wife of Shahjahan named Nawab Fathpuri Begum) was a platform and below that a pool. A *sarai* for scholars and travellers stood nearby.[37]

The 1650 shops that lined the sides of the bazar were of a single design. Each occupied a small room under one section of a long arcade. A thin partition separated one shop from another. At the back of the shop a door led to a small warehouse where surplus goods were stored. Above the warehouse at the back of the arcade lived the merchant, his family, and servants.[38] In these shops an extraordinary variety of goods and services were available: spicy *kababs*, beautifully scented flowers, and astrologers who foretold the future.[39] An early eighteenth-century visitor marvelled at the rubies, emeralds, and pearls; lingered over glass *huqqas* (waterpipes) and eyeglasses from China; and gazed longingly at the variety of sweets in the confectioners' shops.[40] Scattered among the shops were several coffee houses. An innovation from Persia, these were places where *amirs* gathered to listen to poetry, engage in conversation, and watch the passing scene.[41]

The other major bazar in Shahjahanabad stretched from the Akbarabadi Gate of the fort to the Akbarabadi Gate of the city. With 888 compartments and porticos along a street about 1050 yards long and thirty yards wide, this bazar was smaller and less impressive than Chandni Chawk. Built in 1650 by Nawab Akbarabadi Begum, it had in its middle a branch of the Nahr-i Bihisht. The most imposing complex of structures stood at the head of the bazar, just south of the palace gate. Here Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a magnificent mosque of black, red, and creamy white called *Ashat Panahi* (great protection). Near the mosque she erected a *sarai*. Before the *sarai* in the middle of the street she constructed a *chawk* 160 yards long and sixty yards wide, and on the other side of the street, opposite the mosque and *sarai*, she erected a *hammam*.[42] In the early eighteenth century Raushan al-Daulah, an important noble under Muhammad Shah, put up strings of lights on both sides of the canal.[43] The name of this bazar also changed over time. Originally known as the bazar in the direction of Akbarabad, it later came to be called *Faiz Bazar* (bazar of plenty).[44]

One other market deserves mention. Just outside the Akbarabadi Gate of the fort, Sa'adullah Khan constructed a large *chawk* in the middle of *Khas Bazar* (Special Bazar), the street which connected the Jami' Masjid and the palace-fortress. In this area dancing girls, physicians (who, according to Dargah Quli Khan, passed off bags of dirt as medicine), story-tellers, and astrologers plied their trades; here also were shops that dispensed cloth, medicine, cooked food,

weapons, birds, fruits, flowers, wild animals, and sugar cane.[45] Although these three were the largest and richest markets in the city, they were by no means the only places of commercial activity. All over the urban area—in lanes and byways and on street corners—a variety of shops and stalls could be found.[46]

In the Muslim countries of west Asia the garden came to occupy an extremely important place in the plan and build of cities. In the first place, the hot, dry desert climate of much of the area put a premium on places of relief, shaded areas with running water, trees, and flowers where urban inhabitants could find rest and refreshment. Secondly, a long tradition of royal pleasure gardens existed in west Asia. Rulers and nobles in Iran and the Fertile Crescent had constructed elaborately landscaped garden retreats long before the advent of Islam. Finally, the garden had a special significance for Muslims. The Quran promised each Muslim, as a reward for faithful and steadfast worship of Allah, a place in the heavenly paradise. And paradise, in the Quran and Islamic tradition, was conceived of as a garden. Thus, for the pious Muslim the earthly garden served as a reminder of his eventual destination, and no matter how large, lush, or richly appointed it might be, it paled beside his own vision of the heavenly garden-paradise he was to inhabit after death.

Thus, many of the elements in the design of the west Asian garden had a religious source. The paradise garden of the Quran was enclosed, cut by four swiftly flowing rivers, and included a central basin, fountains, lush green grass, and trees heavy with fruit. In the earthly gardens of Mughal India, architects started with these basic elements, refined and reworked them, and elaborated a variety of designs and types.[47]

Whether inside the city or out, the typical urban garden was rectangular in shape and enclosed by high walls. Gardens were spacious, dimensions of four hundred yards by six hundred were common, and many of them had gateways in the middle of each wall and towers at each of the four corners. The principal design, from which the most intricate and elaborate variations developed, featured a central pool containing a small open structure called a *barahdari* (summer house). Four wide canals led from the central pool to the surrounding walls. Other smaller canals branched off from the major waterways and subdivided the four large rectangles one or more

times.[48] Flowers of various colours and shapes, trees of all kinds (fruit-bearing, leafy, tall, squat), birds of spectacular plumage and beautiful voice, and fish of different sizes and colours filled the fully appointed garden in Shahjahanabad. Many gardens made use of cypress and fruit trees. The cypress symbolized death and eternity and the fruit tree (almond or plum or mango) life and hope. Interwined they represented the union of life and death, the joining of the ephemeral and the eternal in the garden of everlasting joy and happiness.[49]

Members of imperial and noble families located most of their gardens beyond the city walls. The banks of the Yamuna upriver and down from the palace-fortress, tree-shaded groves on major highways near city gates—these were the choice locations. During construction of the city Shahjahan had a garden called *khizrabad* built for him on the west bank of the Yamuna about five miles south of the Akbarabadi Gate of the city. Here in 1658 Aurangzeb imprisoned his brother and defeated rival, Dara Shikoh.[50] Outside the Kabuli Gate of the city Shahjahan laid out a garden filled with neem trees called *Tis Hazari Bagh* (Garden of Three Thousand). Zeb al-Nisah Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, and Malka Zamani, wife of Muhammad Shah, were buried there.[51]

In 1650 Raushan Ara Begum, daughter of Shahjahan, constructed a large garden near the Lahori Gate of the city in the suburb now called *Sabzi Mandi* (Vegetable Market). On her death in 1671 she was buried there within a tomb.[52] Nawab Sirhindi Begum, wife of Shahjahan, built a garden in the same area that also served as her final resting place.[53] In 1653–4 Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a fine garden about six miles beyond the Lahori Gate of the city. Named Shalimar and modelled after the earlier gardens of that name in Lahore and Kashmir, this was the place where Aurangzeb was crowned Emperor.[54]

In later years, after the initial burst of construction in the 1650s, members of imperial and noble families continued to lay out gardens. In 1710–11 Mahaldar Khan built a spacious and well decorated garden beyond Sabzi Mandi.[55] In 1748 Nawab Qudsia Begum, wife of Muhammad Shah and mother of Ahmad Shah, erected a magnificent garden on the bank of the Yamuna north of Kashmiri Gate. Called *Qudsia Bagh* (Qudsia's Garden), the structure was one thousand feet long and two hundred feet wide. Towers guarded the walls and a lovely mosque and *barahdari* graced the interior.[56]

The supreme example in Shahjahanabad of the garden-builder's art, however, and the only garden of size within the city and outside the palace-fortress was the one erected by Jahanara Begum north of Chandni Chawk. Called *Sahibabad* (Abode of the Master) and constructed in 1650, this garden enclosed an enormous rectangular area of about fifty acres. The Nahr-i Bihisht provided water for an elaborate garden-paradise arrangement of canals, waterfalls, fountains, and pools. Flowers and trees surrounded the *barahdaris*. Set in the middle of pools, these delicate structures were barely visible behind the drifting spray of the fountains. In the apartments and pavilions of the garden, women of the imperial household played with their children and rested from the heat of summer.[57]

Desire for a refuge against the midsummer heat, wind, and dust of north India was probably the strongest reason for laying out gardens. These pleasure areas were given over entirely to combating the elements; the canals, trees, flowers, fountains, and pavilions designed for the sole purpose of pushing out of mind the uncomfortable reality of the hot, dusty world outside. For many builders the garden also served as a place of burial. The central *barahdari*, place of relaxation and merriment during the builder's life, became on his death a mausoleum, his final resting place.[58]

To ensure a stable, year-round supply of water, cities in Mughal India were located on or near rivers. Canals of all sizes—built by emperors and great *amirs*—channelled water for drinking, washing, and irrigating to houses, gardens, shops, pools, and baths. In 1615–16, for example, the great *amir* Abd al-Rahim, Khan-i Khanan, constructed in Burhanpur a canal which carried water from the Tapti River to *Lal Bagh* (Red Garden).[59] In 1639–40 Ali Mardan Khan proposed the construction of a canal that would bring water from the river Ravi to Lahore. Shahjahan agreed and authorized an expenditure of one hundred thousand rupees. In little more than a year the skilled canal-builders of Ali Mardan's establishment completed a channel called *Shah Nahr* (King's Canal) that carried water over one hundred miles from the source of the Ravi in the mountains to Lahore.[60]

The longest and largest canal, however, and one of the most impressive engineering feats of the entire Mughal period was the Nahr-i Bihisht. This canal carried water from a point on the Yamuna seventy-five miles upstream to the city, by a circuitous route. The

first section of the canal is said to have been built by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq during the years 1355–8. It brought water from the Yamuna to Firuz Shah's hunting preserve at Safidun, a distance of about seventy miles. This section was a primitive affair, laid out along a drainage bed, and only flowed during monsoons. Soon after Firuz Shah's death the channel silted up, caved in, and ran dry. During Akbar's reign the governor of Delhi, Shihab al-Din Khan, ordered the original canal cleared and extended to his own estate near Hansi and Hissar. As a result the canal became known as *Nahr-i Shihab* (Shihab's Canal). As before, however, the builder's death brought the decline of the waterway, and the Nahr-i Shihab ceased to flow in the late sixteenth century.

In 1639, as part of his plans for the new capital, Shahjahan ordered the excavation and repair of the waterway up to the point reached by Shihab al-Din. Construction of the remaining segment was entrusted to the men of his household. A channel that directed water from Hansi and Hissar by way of Panipat and Sonipat to the north-western suburbs of Shahjahanabad was excavated—a distance of about seventy-eight miles. The construction in these suburbs of a great aqueduct of five arches (162 feet long and twenty-four feet wide) to bridge the drain carrying overflow water from the Najafgarh *jhil* (reservoir) was one of the most impressive aspects of the entire project. The canal flowed through the outskirts of the city—watering gardens, mansions, and houses as it passed. Twenty-five feet wide and twenty-five feet deep, the Nahr-i Bihisht was spanned at regular intervals by small bridges and entered Shahjahanabad by the Kabuli Gate.[61]

With but few interruptions (in 1707 and 1740) water moved regularly from the Yamuna to the city. The canal proved a boon for cultivators along its route. The taxes they paid the superintending *amir* (Safdar Jang is said to have got two million five hundred thousand rupees one year) were ample incentive to keep the channel clear.[62] In the late eighteenth century, however, with the collapse of order and government in the city, the canal again ran dry. The British re-opened it in 1820 and it was still providing water to the urban populace in the mid-century.[63]

Once inside the city the canal split into two main branches. One branch met Chandni Chawk near Fathpuri Masjid and flowed down the middle of the avenue to Faiz Bazar. The other branch entered Sahibabad, Jahanara Begum's garden, at its north-western end and

provided an ample supply of water for the intricate arrangement of pools and water-courses. The branch reached the palace-fortress at the north-eastern corner near the *Shah Burj* (King's Tower). According to one tradition, an ingenious device called a *shutrgulu* (camel's neck) lifted the stream from ground level to the floor of the fort.[64]

A lovely marble canal channelled water through all the buildings and apartments along the eastern wall. Smaller canals diverted water from this main artery to gardens and waterways throughout the residential half of the enclosed area. According to a mid-eighteenth century observer:

> '[The canal] brought greenness to Delhi. It ran in all of the city from lane to lane, and the wells became full from it . . . it flowed into the imperial fort and around the moat . . . having flowed to the mansions of the princes and amirs it flowed into the city—to Chandni Chawk, to the Chawk of Saadullah Khan, to Paharganj, to Ajmiri Gate, to the grazing places, to the other mahallahs, and to all the lanes and bazars of the city.[65]

The Nahr-i Bihisht was responsible for much that was fresh, green, and beautiful in Shahjahanabad and was one of the most important factors for the reputation of the capital. The estimate of Sujan Rai was typical:

> [It] confers freshness on the gardens in the suburbs of the capital, lends happiness to the streets and bazars, and enhances the splendor of the imperial palaces.[66]

In Mughal India members of imperial and noble families erected *caravansarais* (inns for travellers and merchants) at regular intervals along major highways and in cities. As walled rectangular enclosures, these structures presented to the ordinary passer-by a façade quite similar to that of the garden or mansion. Travellers entered the enclosure through one of several large gateways; the walls were serrated with battlements; and at each of the four corners were bastions. Rows of identical arched compartments, separated by thin partitions, lined the sides of the building. A pool of water, a well, a mosque, stables, trees and flowers, and a *katra* (walled enclosure) for storing travellers' goods were found in most *sarais*. Constructed by the great for reasons of charity, religious duty, or fame, these were open to merchants, scholars, religious specialists, and other travellers but not to soldiers.[67]

An average-sized *sarai* had room for eight hundred to one thousand travellers. Each *sarai* held a large number of permanent residents who ministered to the needs of travellers. These included barbers, tailors, washermen, blacksmiths, sellers of grass and straw, physicians, dancing girls, and musicians. To keep order among such an assembly the Mughals posted to each *sarai* an official with a contingent of soldiers. The primary responsibility of this man, and he took elaborate precautions to fulfill it, was to guarantee travellers' goods against theft.[68]

In Shahjahanabad a number of these structures stood ready to receive merchants and travellers. Nawab Fathpuri Begum erected an inn for pilgrims near her mosque in Chandni Chawk,[69] Nawab Akbarabadi Begum provided the same structure as part of her mosque in Faiz Bazar,[70] and Bakhtawar Khan, a noble under Aurangzeb, built in 1671–2 a large *sarai* outside the city called *Bakhtawar Nagar* (Bakhtawar's Place).[71] The outstanding example, however, of a caravansarai in Shahjahanabad was the one constructed by Jahanara Begum near the entrance to her garden in Chandni Chawk. Bernier considered it, next to the Jami' Masjid, the most imposing structure in the entire city. It was square and had ninety rooms divided between upper and lower stories. Each room was beautifully painted and appointed. In the middle of the courtyard a garden filled with water-courses, trees, flowers, and pools had been laid out. On each of the four corners was a tower. Only the richest and most eminent of Persian and Uzbek merchants were allowed to put up there.[72] Jahanara wrote of the building: 'I will build a sarai, large and fine like no other in Hindustan. The wanderer who enters its courts will be restored in body and soul and my name will never be forgotten.'[73]

The palace-fortress of Shahjahan, called the *Qila Mubarak* (Auspicious Fortress) in court documents and official histories, was an awesome structure (Figure 1). Constructed of red sandstone quarried near Fathpur Sikri and shipped upriver to the site, it occupied a bluff above the Yamuna along the eastern wall of the city. The walls of the structure traced an irregular octagon nearly two miles in extent; its dimensions were 3,100 feet by 1650. An area of about 124 acres was enclosed; a piece of ground, the sources are careful to point out, twice the area of Akbar's fort in Agra. The walls were formidable: they ranged in height from sixty feet along the river to seventy-five

feet on the landward side and in width from forty-five feet at the base to thirty feet at the top of the battlements.[74]

Four large gateways, two small entrances, and twenty-one towers (seven round and fourteen octagonal) broke the monotony of the expanse. The great gates toward the west and south, the Lahori and Akbarabadi (numbers one and fifteen on Figure 1), were the chief entryways. In front of both gates Shahjahan constructed a pair of elephants—life-size, on guard, keeping watch. The Emperor Aurangzeb, however, regarded such images as sacrilegious and had them pulled down in the early part of his reign.[75] To strengthen the outworks of the structure Aurangzeb put up barbicans in front of the two principal entryways and made the Lahori Gate the headquarters of the *Qiladar* (Fort Commander).[76] The gateway toward the north, in the direction of Salimgarh, was the third large gateway and the gate on the riverfront beneath the *Jharokah-i Darshan* (Balcony of Audience, number eight on the map), the fourth. This last was the principal entryway to the *Daulat Khanah-i Khas* (number nine on the map) for the emperor and great men of state. One of the small gates was on the north-eastern slant of the octagon, between the Salimgarh Gate (number sixteen) and the *Shah Burj* (king's tower, number twelve). The other small opening was at the base of the fort a few yards south of Jahanara Begum's mansion (number six). From it a large underground drain emptied into the river.[77]

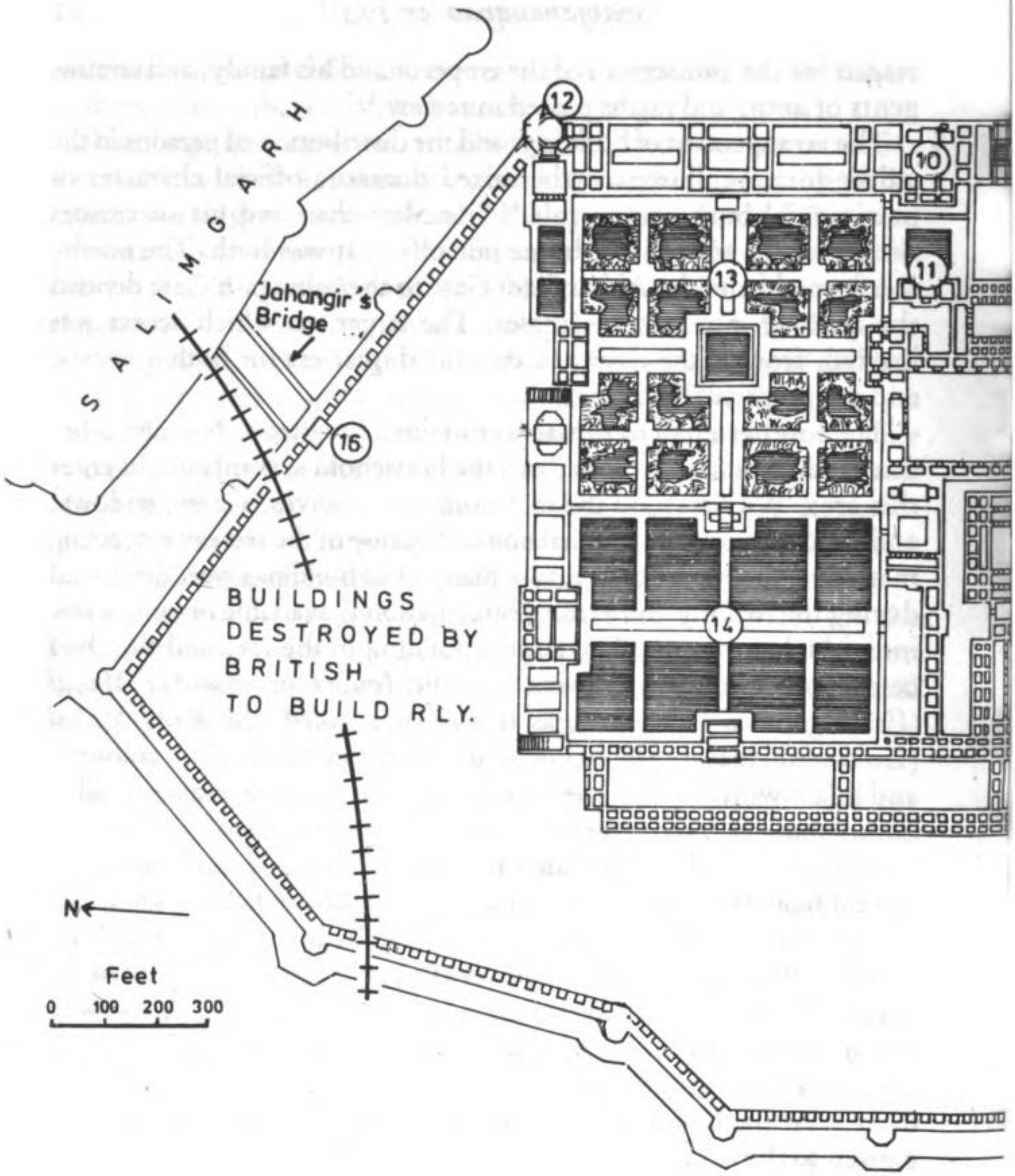
A moat, seventy-five feet wide and thirty feet deep, surrounded the fort on the landward side. Faced with rough stone, filled with water, and stocked with fish, it served to further isolate and protect the imperial household.[78] Immediately beyond the moat, separating the palace-fortress from the city proper, was a wide band of garden greenery. Comprising the *Buland* (High), *Gulabi* (Rose), and *Anguri* (Grape) Gardens, this lovely verdant swath of flowers and trees was a stark contrast to the great red expanse of the walls.[79] A large square between the Lahori Gate of the fort and the intersection of the two great thoroughfares interrupted the encircling sweep of the gardens. Here Rajput *amirs* camped with their troops while standing guard duty in the palace, grooms from the imperial household exercised horses from the emperor's stables, and officials from the *bakhshi*'s office inspected the contingents of newly admitted *mansabdars*.[80] Before the eastern wall of the fort was a wide sandy beach. People gathered there early each morning to catch a glimpse of the emperor at his daily *darshan* (showing). Later in the day elephant fights were

staged for the amusement of the emperor and his family, and contingents of *amirs* and rajahs passed in review.[81]

The arrangement of buildings and the distribution of persons in the palace-fortress illustrated the mixed domestic-official character of patrimonial-bureaucratic rule.[82] For Shahjahan and his successors the structure was neither home nor office. It was both. The north–south road from the Akbarabadi Gate to the Salimgarh Gate divided the interior into two rectangles. The larger, to which access was limited, fronted the river and contained quarters for both domestic and governmental activities.

The southern half of this area contained the *harim*. No men other than the emperor, his sons, and the household servants might enter this area. Within stood the mansions of the wives, sisters, widows, and concubines of the Mughal house. Because of the secrecy respecting matters of the *harim* and because many of its buildings were destroyed during the Mutiny and earlier, information is available on only a few individual structures. The largest building in the area and the chief centre of communal activity was the *Imtiaz* or *Mumtaz Mahal* (Distinguished Palace) or, as it was later called, the *Rang Mahal* (Coloured Palace). The ceiling of this mansion was brightly coloured and inlaid with gold. At the four corners were small enclosures called *khas khanahs* (reed houses). Lined with swatches of wet sweet-smelling reeds, these provided the women of the household a cool retreat from the midday sun. Small domes with golden top-knobs sat on each of the four corners of the roof. In front of the building, between it and the Hall of Ordinary Audience, was a large garden. In the middle was a pool containing a lovely marble basin. A stairway led from the back of Shahjahan's elevated throne in the Hall of Ordinary Audience to the western edge of this garden. Following his daily stint in the public hall, Shahjahan made his way through the garden to the comfort of the Imtiaz Mahal. There, at various times of the day and night, the emperor enjoyed music, played with his children, attended to the performances of dancing girls, and listened to the offerings of poets and storytellers.[83]

Immediately north of the Imtiaz Mahal was a room set aside for rest and sleep. Called both the *Aramgah* and the *Khwabgah* (Place of Sleep), it was a small, beautifully carved building constructed entirely of marble. Protruding from the eastern wall of the *aramgah* and hanging out over the beach was an octagonal tower called the *Jharokah-i Darshan* (Balcony of Audience) and later the *Mussaman Burj*



1. Lahori Gate
2. Covered Bazar
3. Naqqar Khanah
4. Daulat Khanah
5. Asad Burj
6. Jahanara Begum's mansion
7. Imtiaz Mahal
8. Jharokah-i Darshan
9. Daulat Khanah-i Khas
10. Hammam
11. Moti Masjid
12. Shah Burj
13. Hayat Bakhsh garden
14. Mahtab Bagh
15. Akbarabadi Gate
16. Salimgarh Gate

Water tank

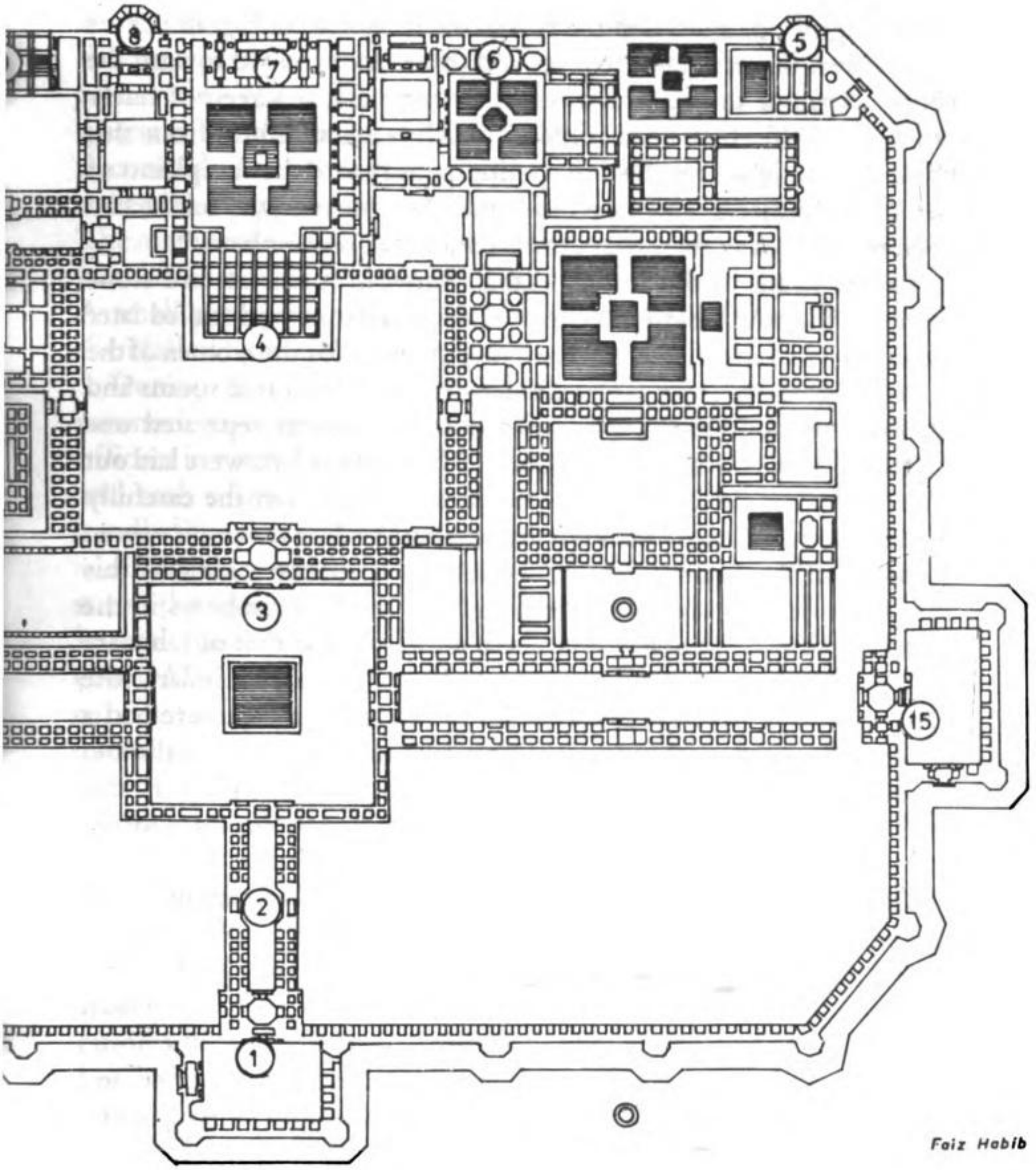


Figure 1. The palace fortress
Plan of Delhi fort including buildings since demolished
(Based on Sanderson's map, after Fergusson)

(Octagonal Tower). It was constructed of marble. The interior walls were brightly painted and the spires were flecked with gold. Of its eight sides, five fronted the river and three faced inward toward the room. Around the open five-sided balcony a low screen of finely worked marble had been placed.[84] Early each morning from this balcony Shahjahan received the petitions and heard the complaints of any of his subjects who cared to come. Any person who felt he had been mistreated in the lower courts could seek redress here.[85]

To the south of the Imtiaz Mahal, between it and the red stone tower at the south-eastern corner of the riverfront wall (called later *Azad Burj* or Lion Tower), were living quarters for the women of the household. Gold-inlay work and bright paint decorated rooms and apartments, and lanes paved with coloured stones separated one dwelling from another. In the courtyards small gardens were laid out around central pools. Flowers and trees sprang from the carefully tended earth. Winding through the area and feeding the pools was an offshoot of the Nahr-i Bihisht. Fountains set in the middle of this canal sent jets of water high into the air, creating rainbows in the hanging spray.[86] The largest of these mansions was that of Jahanara Begum. Erroneously called Mumtaz Mahal by later scholars (the name properly belongs to the larger building), this structure had a delicately carved marble screen along its eastern side. The walls and ceiling were painted and encrusted with small pieces of glass. In this area also was *Khwaspurah* (Special Quarter), a place for the widows and dependents of former emperors.[87]

The northern half of the rectangle facing the river contained the more public buildings of the imperial household. West of the Imtiaz Mahal stood the Hall of Ordinary Audience. A marble baldachino, set into a niche in the eastern wall about six feet above the floor, covered the *jharoka* (balcony) where Shahjahan sat during the hours of public audience. The niche behind the balcony was painted and inlaid with precious stones. Immediately below the *jharoka* was a marble platform. Nobles stood there while handing petitions and other papers to the emperor. The hall itself was a large open pavilion of forty pillars divided into two parts. A small rectangular area near the balcony was cut off from the rest of the hall by a railing of gold. Within stood the princes, great nobles, important ambassadors, and other men of note. Beyond this a silver railing about five feet tall enclosed a larger space for lower-ranking *amirs*, minor nobles, and others with less important business. A third railing of red stone,

erected in the courtyard outside the pavilion, separated fledgling *amirs* and minor officials from ordinary onlookers. All three sides of the courtyard surrounding the pavilion were lined with rooms under an arcade. These apartments, linked by connecting doors, were quarters for the *amirs* of the standing guard and were beautifully decorated. At the western end of this courtyard stood a great gate called the *Naqqar Khanah* (Drum Room, number three on Figure 1). The major entryway to the Hall of Ordinary Audience, this structure housed musicians who played loud martial music during audiences. A small passageway led through the north wall of the courtyard to the Hall of Special Audience.[88]

During the ordinary, everyday audiences Shahjahan granted promotions to *mansabdars*, received reports from administrative officers in the field, and examined papers relating to *mansabs*, *jagirs*, and cash salaries. In the Ordinary Hall of Audience the emperor handled the routine military, administrative, and financial matters.[89]

Along the riverfront to the east of the Hall of Ordinary Audience stood the most splendid structure in the palace-fortress. The Hall of Special Audience, also called the *Shah Mahal* (King's Palace) and *Ghusl Khanah* (Bath House), cost one million four hundred thousand rupees to erect and was the most elegant building in the palace-fortress. Built of pure white marble, the hall was richly decorated: the lower walls were studded with agates, pearls, and other precious stones, and on the upper walls painters had joined flowers and fruit trees in colourful intricate designs. Sheets of gold in trefoil pattern decorated the ceiling. Hundreds of tiny pieces of glass, embedded in the walls and ceiling, bounced sparks of light back and forth across the hall. A gold-encrusted dome shielded each corner of the roof. In the middle of the room on a wide platform stood the famous peacock throne. Covered with rubies, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds, the throne was surmounted by a canopy on which perched two elaborately jewelled peacocks.

In front of the hall was a large courtyard, and around the courtyard an arcade divided into small rooms. At the western end a door, hung with a red curtain, led to a passageway and the Hall of Ordinary Audience. Anyone who desired to enter the Hall of Special Audience had to do special obeisance on the far side of the curtain. The location of this hall, deep within the living quarters of the imperial family, indicated its special, private character. With the help of a few trusted advisors the emperor dealt with the sensitive, secret, and most important affairs of state in the Hall of Special Audience.[90]

North of the Hall of Special Audience lay the *hammam* (bath). Baths had been an integral part of Islamic life from the very beginning. A settlement, it was said, needed a congregational mosque, a market, and a bath house to qualify as a full-fledged urban community.[91] Like the other buildings in the fortress, the *hammam* was built of marble, decorated with mosaics and pieces of glass, and brightly painted. The structure had three stories: one given over to a dressing room and the other two dispensing hot and cold water respectively.[92]

At the north-eastern corner of the palace-fortress, marking the termination of the structures along the river wall, stood the *Shah Burj* (King's Tower, number twelve on Figure 1). Constructed of specially polished marble from Gujarat, this octagonal tower had three stories. The lower walls were decorated with mosaics and the upper walls and ceiling displayed golden inlay work. A tank occupied the middle of the lower storey. Sheaves of *khas*, wetted and placed in the windows, cooled this level in summer.[93]

North of the Daulat Khanah-i Khas was a small, delicate, beautifully wrought mosque of marble. Called the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque, number eleven on Figure 1), it was the only building in the palace constructed by Aurangzeb. Although Shahjahan had been content to use the great congregational mosque in the middle of the city, his pious brother wanted a more convenient sanctuary for his devotions. It took five years and one hundred and sixty thousand rupees to complete the structure.[94]

Apart from the garden of Jahanara Begum, the chief examples of garden architecture in Shahjahanabad are found in the palace-fortress. The *Hayat Baksh* (Life-Giving) and Mahtab gardens took up a substantial part of the northern sector of the imperial quarters. Hayat Baksh, the larger of the two, displayed a typical paradise-garden design. A large rectangular pool occupied the middle of the garden area. In the centre of the pool stood an open summer house (*barahdari*) surrounded and partly hidden by the spray from forty-nine silver fountains. Around the pool another one hundred and twelve fountains sent spurts of glistening water into the air. Avenues led from the four sides of the central pool to the surrounding wall. A small canal containing thirty silver fountains flowed down the middle of each avenue. At the far ends of the north–south avenues were two identical pavilions called after the monsoon months of the Hindu year *Bhādaun* (fifth month) and *Sāwan* (fourth month). Built entirely of marble, these summer houses had offshoots of the Nahr-i Bihisht cascading water to and from open pools. Flowers of all kinds, shapes,

and colours bordered the avenues and pools. Fruit trees grew in such variety and profusion that, according to Muhammad Salih, the tangled branches of their upper limbs nearly shut out the sky.[95]

Less is known about the smaller garden to the west of Hayat Baksh. Called Mahtab Bagh in later accounts, it seems not to have been laid out with the care and extravagance of the other. The major structure in this garden was a *barahdari* of red stone called *Balal Mahal* (water palace). The Nahr-i Bihisht flowed through the centre of this building.[96]

North of the two gardens, abutting the north-western side of the octagon, was a large triangular area. Here were the mansions and households of the younger, less-established sons of the imperial family. Princes of the position and wealth of Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb had mansions outside the palace-fortress.[97]

West of the rectangle containing the quarters of the imperial household lay another roughly rectangular area. Although smaller than the area set aside for the emperor and his family, this section of the palace-fortress held the bulk of the population. Immediately in front of the Naqqar Khanah was a large open square called the *Jilau Khanah* (Forecourt). This was the place where those interested in attending the daily audience—*amirs*, ministers, bureaucrats, members of the imperial establishment, petitioners, and others—assembled and waited. Only royal princes could pass through the Naqqar Khanah on horseback; all others had to dismount and walk. The sides of this square, lined with small rooms under an arcade,housed the *amirs* of the daily guard and their men. In the south-western corner of the courtyard stood several buildings where the *wazir* (superintendent) of the imperial household transacted business. A large rectangular pool lay in the middle of the courtyard.[98]

A covered bazar (*bazar-i mussaqaf*, number two, Figure 2) led from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the western edge of the Jilau Khanah. Two hundred and seventy feet long, twenty-seven feet wide, and two stories high, this bazar had arcaded shops on both levels and both sides of the street. Near the middle of the bazar a section had been cut from the roof, letting air and light in on an octagonal court. Although establishing bazars in roofed, permanent constructions was the ordinary practice in Iran and West Asia, it was unusual in India.

> A building like the covered bazar, which the people of Hindustan had never before seen, was a new idea produced by the ruler of the seven lands with effortless attention and unique building talent.[99]

Traders and merchants displayed a rich and varied selection of goods, and buyers thronged the street, examining articles and arguing with shopkeepers. In coffee houses *amirs* of the guard traded information and gossip.[100]

Running through the pool of the Jilau Khanah and down the middle of the wide avenue linking the Salimgarh and Akbarabadi gates was a branch of the Nahr-i Bihisht. After watering the houses and shops in this part of the fort, the canal emptied into the moat. A ledge four feet wide and five or six feet high bordered this avenue. At the back of each ledge was a row of arcaded rooms. Collectors of taxes and other minor bureaucrats transacted business toward the southern end of the avenue. Here were offices for the clerks and bureaucrats who maintained the financial and military records of the government. At the north-western end of the road were stables for the horses, elephants, camels, and cows of the imperial establishment. Other rooms along both sides of the avenue held workshops where weapons, carpets, fine cloth, gold work, and jewellery were manufactured; storerooms where clothing, food, books, and candlesticks were kept; and buildings for the treasuries and the mint. The remainder of this area was given over to houses for soldiers, clerks, merchants, artisans, physicians, poets, scholars, religious specialists, astrologers, and their families; members all of the imperial household.[101]

To the men of Shahjahan's day the palace-fortress was a wondrous structure. Muhammad Waris confessed that his pen was lame and helpless, inadequate to the task of description. Only the words of the poet Amir Khusrau, inscribed on the north and south arches of the Daulat Khanah-i Khas, would suffice:

If there is a paradise on the face of the earth.
It is here, it is here, it is here.[102]

The people of Shahjahanabad inhabited a variety of dwellings. The large walled mansions of princes and great *amirs* contained gardens, watercourses, and beautiful apartments. Lower ranking *amirs* and rich merchants had smaller houses with walls of stone, brick, or clay and roofs of straw. Some well-to-do Hindu merchants lived in houses which were six or seven stories high.[103] Ordinary merchants often lived in quarters behind their shops. Soldiers, servants, craftsmen, small traders, and others lived in straw-thatched mud huts.[104] As the population increased these small dwellings multiplied; they gobbled

up much of the open space in the city and encroached on lanes and thoroughfares. A resident of early eighteenth-century Shahjahanabad, for example, reported great difficulty negotiating the clogged passage-ways near his home.[105] The inhabitants of these huts suffered periodic disaster. In the hot season fires regularly swept through the city, jumping from one tinder-dry roof to the next. In 1662 sixty thousand people were killed in three separate fires.[106] During the monsoon rains the mud walls tended to weaken and collapse. On 4 July 1716 twenty-three hundred people were killed when their houses caved in.[107]

Although the older princes and the important nobles did not live in the palace-fortress, they too were considered members of the emperor's household. They participated in the ceremonial of the imperial court, they held office in the departments of the imperial household, and they performed a number of tasks more filial than official. The imprint of this relationship can be seen in the style of domestic architecture: in Shahjahanabad princes and important nobles constructed mansions after the model of the palace-fortress.

To design and erect palaces or mansions great men had to look no further than their own households. Most establishments included architects and builders, and *Bayaz-i Khushbui*, the late seventeenth-century household manual, contained an entire section on buildings and gardens.[108] The mansions of these men were often quite large. That of Qamar al-Din Khan (number sixteen, Map II), covered almost an entire block and that of Safdar Jang (number one) contained room for five thousand soldiers and five hundred horses.[109] Muhammad Salih wrote of the mansions in Shahjahanabad: 'In the courtyard of each one the area of a city is empty.'[110]

A great man's *haveli* (mansion) or *nashiman* (seat or mansion) was encircled by a high thick wall of stone (see Figure 2) that shielded his women from the eyes of strangers and protected his household during times of disorder. A lofty gateway called the Naqqar Khanah housed the soldiers of the daily guard and the drummers, trumpeters, and other musicians of the entourage. The Naqqar Khanah opened on to a large forecourt (Jilau Khanah) surrounded by a row of rooms under an arcade. Here were places for the soldiers and servants of the household and for the horses, elephants, and attendants of visitors.[111]

To the right and left of the Jilau Khanah, laid out along the wall fronting the street, were several courtyards. These held the bulk of the men and goods of the great man's establishment. Here were

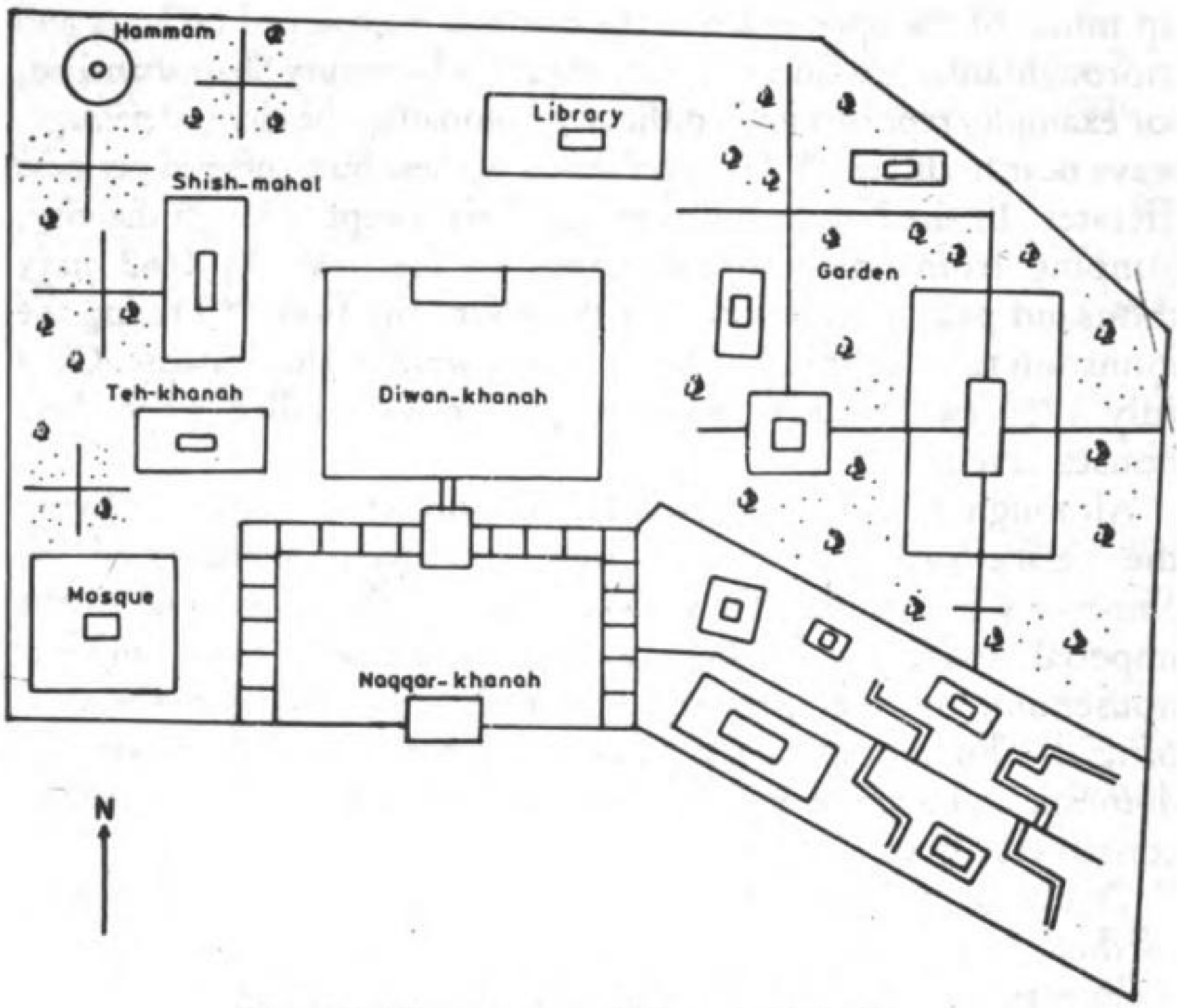


Figure 2. The mansion of Qamar al-Din Khan

stables for horses, elephants, and camels. Here also stood apartments for servants, clerks, artisans, poets, physicians, labourers, religious specialists, astrologers, and soldiers. Nearby clustered the *karkhanahs* (workshops) of the great man's *sarkar*: storerooms for grain, perfume, medicine, furniture, candles, palanquins, tents, swords, bowls, and guns; record offices, treasuries, bakeries, and kitchens; and workshops for clothing, carpets, goldwork, and fine embroidery—goods enough to sustain the community inside for months.[112]

Opposite the forecourt of the Naqqar Khanah stood another gate. This guarded entry to the living quarters of the prince or great *amir* and his family. Like the quarters of the emperor in the palace-fortress, the area here was divided into two parts: public-official and private-familial. In Figure 2 the area set aside for the great man's family occupied the north-western sector. Called the *mahal sarai* (women's apartments), this area was forbidden to all but the prince or great *amir*, his women, and children. Apartments and pavilions, set amidst trees, flowers, pools, and canals, constituted the living quarters. The main structure in the *mahal sarai*, the place where the great man relaxed with his family, was the *Shish Mahal* (Glass Mansion), a room beautifully painted and decorated with tiny pieces of polished glass. In the mansion of Safdar Jang the octagonal columns of this room also glittered with bits of shining glass.[113]

The *teh khanah* (underground chamber) or *sard khanah* (cool chamber) was usually found in the *mahal sarai*. A set of rooms thirty to forty feet below ground and arranged around a central pool, this was the place where the nobleman and his family escaped the searing heat of late afternoon Shahjahanabad. Great care was taken in the building and decorating of this retreat. The chamber in Safdar Jang's mansion, seventy-eight feet long and twenty-seven feet wide, was divided by marble pillars into three galleries. The domed ceiling, painted blue and silver, suggested a midnight sky. Light and air came in through shadowed lattices, positioned so as to avoid the direct glare of the sun. Fountains gushed and gurgled in the central pool.[114]

The public area, the other part of the living quarters, comprised a group of courtyards separated from the *mahal sarai* by a high wall. Here, in a structure called the *diwan khanah* (audience hall) the nobleman held court and received guests. The audience hall of Mir Abd al-Razaq, an *amir* of the early eighteenth century, had brightly coloured carpets on the floor, curtains and vases of flowers on the

wall, and a large mirror at one side. Guests were served coffee and offered specially prepared glass huqqas.[115]

Near the *diwan khanah* stood the library. Here the prince or great *amir* drafted state papers and composed the poems and brief pieces that every skilled courtier was expected to produce. The library contained a large selection of books. The household manual lists a core holding of fifty-two Arabic and Persian works. A close acquaintance with these and others, with the ability to slip apt quotations into conversation and writing, was a *sine qua non* for a successful noble and officeholder.[116]

Apartments and halls were richly furnished. Cotton mattresses four inches thick covered the floors. In summer a fine white cloth masked the mattresses and in winter a carpet of silk. In the *diwan khanah* elegantly carved seats of wood, inlaid with gold and silver and cushioned with pillows, served the *amir* and his important guests. In most rooms, however, people sat on mattresses leaning against cushions covered in brocade, velvet, or flowered satin. The *amir*'s cushions were embroidered in silk and criss-crossed with threads of gold and silver. Painters decorated walls and ceilings with designs in which flowers, fruits, and other garden motifs predominated. Gilding shone from the ceiling and pieces of glass sparkled from walls and pillars. Niches in the wall held vases of flowers. In the mansion of Raushan al-Daulah (number seven on Map II) bedsteads of gold, covered with gold-embroidered carpets, stood in every room.[117]

Other structures graced the private and public sectors of the great man's quarters. For the *amiri* mansion as for the palace-fortress a *hammam* was indispensable. Built primarily of marble, the typical bath contained at least three rooms: a dressing area, and separate rooms for hot and cold water. Saadat Khan's bath, for example, had five rooms and a dome of glazed glass. The household manual provides the dimensions of bathhouses in Sirhind and in the garden of Nur Sarai.[118] Mansions contained religious structures as well. Mosques were meant for the devotions of the great man, his family, and members of his establishment. The dimensions of an *Idgah* (place for Id prayers and feasts)—the size of its gate, the area of its courtyard, and the height of its turret—are given in the household manual.[119]

The *pièce de resistance*, however, of every élite mansion was its *khanah bagh* (house garden). Gardens were divided into rectangles

by elaborate multi-level watercourses that tumbled down several levels before reaching a central pool. In the middle of the pool on a pedestal stood a *barahdari*. Screens of wetted *khas* placed in the windows of this house caught the blistering wind of summer and cooled the inhabitants within. Trees, set around the outskirts of the rectangle, shaded a multitude of colourful flowers and contributed fruit to the kitchen in season. For the ambitious builder the household manual contained plans—dimensions, materials, drawings, and costs—of famous gardens. These included Sahibabad, Dahra Garden outside Akbarabad, and the Garden of Nur Sarai. The manual also included instructions on the care and nurture of trees.[120]

In Shahjahanabad the establishment of most great men included boatmen. Boats—many shaped like animals—were launched from private docks along the river. These brought the great man to the riverfront gateway of the Hall of Special Audience and carried him and his family upriver or down to gardens and festivals.[121]

Since the entourage of a prince or great noble often swelled to overflowing, a collection of small straw-thatched mud huts surrounded most mansions. Here resided the soldiers, artisans, servants, and lesser hangers-on who had been unable to acquire accommodation within. Outside also stood shops and stalls catering to the needs of the household. These mansions, by virtue of their size and population, dominated their sections of the city just as the palace-fortress dominated the urban area as a whole. Contemporary descriptions of them as forts (*qasr*),[122] the statement of an English traveller that they were considerably larger than the palaces of the European nobility,[123] and the account of the Frenchman who visited Shahjahanabad in the mid-eighteenth century attest to the size and complexity of these places.

The Frenchman wrote: 'There are many mansions of the nobles, which one can compare to small towns and in which reside the women, equipment, and bazars (or public markets) of the nobles.'[124]

In the cities of Mughal India the mosque (*masjid*) held pride of place among the varieties of religious architecture—mosques were more numerous and significant than *dargahs* (tombs), *khangahs* (monasteries), *imambarahs* (places for the celebration of the Muharram festival), or *idgahs*. Most cities contained two kinds of mosque. The great central congregational mosque of the settlement,

the *masjid-i jami* (Friday mosque), was the place where the major service of the week was held. The other mosques, of varying size and magnificence, stood here and there about the city and served persons in their vicinity. Because of the public character of Islamic worship, a large open four-sided courtyard was the central element of every mosque. A roofed area at the western end of the courtyard served as the prayer hall. In the centre of the western wall was a recess or alcove (*mihrab*) which indicated the direction of prayer. To the right of the *mihrab* was a pulpit where the *imam* (leader) read the Quran and conducted prayers, and the *khatib* (reader) delivered the sermon. One or more *minars* (towers), from which the *mu'azzin* (crier) gave the call to prayer, occupied the corners of the courtyard. A portion of the prayer hall was screened off to provide a place for women. The main entrance to the mosque was on the east, and the sides of the courtyard held apartments for travellers and scholars. In the middle of the open space was a large pool where worshippers washed their hands and face. Affiliated with most mosques were several other structures: a *musafir khanah* (hostel) for the comfort of travellers and a *madrasa* (religious school) for the teaching of young Muslims.

To build a mosque was a highly virtuous act. A verse from the Quran, seen in India though not in other parts of the Islamic world, adorned the outside of many mosques:

> Who so buildeth for God a place of worship,
> be it like the nest of a Qata-bird
> God buildeth for him a house in paradise.[125]

In addition to the expense of construction, the builder often provided a source of income for the upkeep, repairs, and salaries of mosque personnel. Such a source, called a *waqf* (dedication), was managed by a *mutawalli* (superintendent of financial affairs), and came in several forms. In mosques that were two-storied (and there were many of these in Mughal India), rents from rooms in the lower half often comprised the *waqf* income. For other mosques, a builder might donate the income from a piece of land, a bath, well, graveyard, or shop. In any case, a regular source of income was established to defray the mosque's expenses.

Early in his reign Shahjahan had, according to law and tradition, ordered the building of mosques in every city that contained Muslims.[126] The command was followed in the construction of

Shahjahanabad: 'In every lane, bazar, square, and street they have erected mosques.'[127] In the early 1740s the Jesuit Tieffenthaler observed:

> Delhi contains a great number of mosques built at great expense; there are two constructed of red stone transported here from Fatepour, two others whose domes are gilded with gold. The number of small ones is unknowable.[128]

The archaeological survey of the city, conducted in the early part of this century, listed 410 structures in the walled city.[129] Of the 378 structures outside the palace-fortress, 202 (fifty-three per cent) were mosques. Two hundred of these were built between 1639 and 1857. Table 1 divides these two hundred into three groups, based on their date of construction. Extrapolating from the distribution of dated mosques, one hundred are estimated to have been erected during the period 1639–1739. These one hundred can be divided into three groups and arranged in a hierarchy according to location, builder, and size.

TABLE 1
Mosques constructed in Shahjahanabad: 1639–1857

	Dated Mosques 56		*Total Mosques 200*	
	Number (Actual)	*Percentage*	*Percentage*	*Number (Est.)*
I. 1639–1739	28	50	50	100 (0.50 × 200)
II. 1739–1803	13	23	21	42 (0.21 × 200)
III. 1803–1857	15	27	29	58 (0.29 × 200)
Total	56	100	100	200

Source: *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Zail*, vols. 1–2.

At the top of the hierarchy, set on a small hill about one thousand yards west of the palace-fortress, was the Jami' Masjid (number thirty-seven on Map II). The largest mosque in all India, this was the only structure in the city with the mass and presence to challenge the pre-eminence of the palace-fortress. The foundations of this great structure were laid on 6 October 1650. Under the supervision of Saadullah Khan, *wazir*, and Fazil Khan, *khan saman* (head of

Shahjahan's household establishment), five thousand workers—stone-cutters, carvers, engravers, painters, jewellers, and diggers—laboured daily for six years. Its cost was one million rupees.

The mosque proper was on the second storey, raised well above the surrounding city. The courtyard was a great square approximately one hundred yards on a side. Over the prayer hall at the western end stood three large domes. Seven *mihrabs* had been carved in the western wall, and minarets marked the four corners of the courtyard. In the middle was a tank with fountains, fifteen yards long and twelve yards wide. Like the palace-fortress, the Jami' Masjid was built primarily of red sandstone, ferried upriver from Fathpur Sikri. The lower part of the inside walls and the minarets were of marble. Stairways led to great doors in the eastern, southern, and northern sides of the courtyard. At the foot of each stairway was a *chawk*. In the early nineteenth century, according to Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a man could buy *kababs*, sweet drinks, and chickens at the southern gate and be entertained by magicians, jugglers, and story-tellers at the northern. The eastern gate, connected to Khas Bazar by a stairway of thirty-five steps, was the emperor's entrance. Cloth and pigeons were sold in this *chawk*. There was no gate or stairway on the western side of the mosque, but in the *chawk* below two structures had been erected. To the north-west was a hospital, a place where sick people were treated and medicine dispensed at the emperor's expense. At the south-western corner stood a *madrasa* (religious school). The Jami' Masjid dwarfed the other mosques in the area and, from its central location, attracted Muslims from all over the city on Fridays and holidays. This first rank or stratum, consisting of a single mosque, is called the *Padshahi* (Sovereign) rank.[130]

Below the Padshahi stratum was a small group of eight mosques built by *begums* and great *amirs* and called the *Begumi-Amiri* or Élite rank. Although not as large as the Jami' Masjid, these mosques were nevertheless imposing. Outstanding in the group were the Fathpuri and Akbarabadi mosques (see Table 2). Built of red sandstone in the early days of the city and occupying prominent locations in the two main bazars, these structures were worthy of their builders, wives of Shahjahan. Of the remaining six mosques, four were built by *begums*—three of whom were members of the imperial family. A third wife of Shahjahan, Nawab Sirhindi Begum, erected (also in 1650) a mosque outside the Lahori Gate of the city. During Aurangzeb's reign his wife (Nawab Aurangabadi Begum) and daughter

TABLE 2
Elite Mosques constructed in Shahjahanabad: 1639–1739

Mosque	*Builder*	*Date*	*Location*
1. Fathpuri Masjid	Nawab Fathpuri Begum (wife of Shahjahan)	1650	Chandni Chawk (no. 29 on Map II)
2. Akbarabadi Masjid	Nawab Akbarabadi Begum (wife of Shahjahan)	1650	Faiz Bazar (no. 30)
3. Sirhindi Masjid	Nawab Sirhind Begum (wife of Shahjahan)	1650	Lahori Gate of city (no. 31)
4. Aurangabadi Masjid	Nawab Aurangabadi Begum (wife of Aurangzeb)	1703	Lahori Gate of city (no. 32)
5. Zinat al-Masjid	Zinat al-Nisa Begum (daughter of Aurangzeb)	1707	Riverbank south of fortress (no. 33)
6. Sonari Masjid	Raushan al-Daulah (great *amir* under Muhammad Shah)	1721	Chandni Chawk (no. 34)
7. Masjid Sharif al-Daulah	Sharif al-Daulah (great *amir* under Muhammad Shah)	1722	Dariba bazar (no. 35)
8. Fakr al-Masjid	Fakr al-Nisa Khanum (wife of Nawab Shujaat Khan)	1728	Kashmiri Gate (no. 36)

(Zinat al-Nisa Begum) put up handsome structures in prominent places. The final *begum* and the only female outside the imperial family, Fakr al-Nisa Khanum, built a lovely mosque near Kashmiri Gate. The final two mosques in the group were the work of great *amirs* under Muhammad Shah: Raushan al-Daulah and Sharif al-Daulah.

The status of these mosques can be gauged from their location. With one exception (no. 33, Map III), the structures were found on the two major thoroughfares of the city. Either on the road running from the Akbarabadi Gate of the city through Faiz Bazar past the palace-fortress to the Kashmiri Gate of the city, or in the great bazar leading from the Lahori Gate of the fort through Chandni Chawk to the Lahori Gate of the city. The elite rank of mosques, constructed by rich and powerful patrons, attracted a cross-section of persons from all over the city. As with the Jami Masjid, worshippers came from no special group or class.

At the bottom of the hierarchy was the third group of ninety-one mosques. Called the *Mohalla* (neighbourhood or quarter) rank,

these were small sanctuaries found in or near *mohallahs* all over the city. These mosques were erected by *amirs*, *mansabdars*, merchants, and caste/craft groups and a good many were situated inside or near the mansions of the Mughal nobility.[131] The Islamic law codes discuss the requirements for such structures. A building within a mansion must be available to a public wider than the owner's family for it to qualify as a proper place of worship.[132] Regular attendance by the great man's entourage guaranteed the legitimacy of these household mosques.

The materials on mosques suggest, as did the materials on the palace-fortress and the mansion, the centrality and dominance of the emperor, imperial princes, and great *amirs* in the life of Shahjahanabad. In the top strata of mosques—the Padshahi and Begumi-Amiri—these noblemen and their families were responsible for all nine erected during the period 1639–1739. These were by far the largest and the most beautifully appointed, and probably held a substantial proportion of the Muslim populace on Fridays and holidays. Although they comprised only nine per cent of the mosques erected between 1639 and 1739, these structures were responsible for a much larger percentage of the money expended. The Jami' Masjid alone cost one million rupees.

A similar pattern seems to have characterized the *mohallah* rank. We know that at least thirty of the ninety-one mosques in this stratum were the work of great *amirs*.[133] It is likely, furthermore, that a good many of the remaining sixty-one stood in mansions that cannot be identified or were erected by *amirs* in lanes and *mohallas* for the benefit of caste/craft groups.

When finally completed, the city was magnificent. Travellers spoke of Shahjahanabad as one of the largest and most populous cities in the world; a place of peace and beauty, a place that lacked none of the amenities of urban life. Neither Constantinople nor Baghdad could compare with it.[134] Sujan Rai wrote:

> Its heart-ravishing houses have perfect beauty and charm; . . . its streets look like flower beds; . . . the squares of every mahallah of this city are beautiful and heart-ravishing like the squares of a garden; . . . in every lane and street are canals filled to the brim with water of a sweet taste; the roads of its bazars are bright and attractive like the veins of jewels; . . . its shops are full of happiness and beauty.[135]

The plan of Shahjahanabad followed that of the palace-fortress. Like the residence, the city was divided into two parts: special and ordinary. In the city the palace-fortress was the inner secluded area where the crucial decisions were made: it was the seat of power accessible only to those with important business. Within the remainder of the urban area outside the palace-fortress, public, ordinary, and less weighty affairs were conducted. As the inner rectangle, home of the imperial household, organized and directed activities in the palace-fortress, so the palace-fortress commanded affairs in the city at large. Mansions of princes and *amirs* (modelled after the palace-fortress) organized and directed their sectors of the city as did the homes of soldiers, administrators, and others in the outer area of the palace-fortress. As these last were members of the extended family of the imperial household so *amirs* and princes were members of and participants in the household government of the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire.[136] In both fortress and city, furthermore, the major east-west street was the principal bazar. In both also the north-south thoroughfare intersected this street in front of the chief entrance to the dominant area: before the Naqqar Khanah in the palace-fortress and before the Lahori Gate of the fortress in the city. Thus, the name of the patrimonial-bureaucratic ruler seems best to capture the nature and character of the Mughal capital. Shahjahanabad: Mansion of Shahjahan.

NOTES

1. Chandar Bhan Brahman, 'Chahar Chaman Brahman', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1892, British Museum, pp. 141–2. This was written *c.* 1648–9, soon after the completion of Shahjahanabad.
2. Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Namah*, ed. Maulavi Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Maulavi Abd al-Rahim, 2 vols. (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1866–72), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 9.
3. Muhammad Salih Kanbo Lahauri, *Amal-i Salih*, ed. G. Yazdani, 3 vols. (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870–3), vol. 1, p. 248.
4. For Afzal Khan see Nawab Samsam al-Daulah Shah Nawaz Khan and Abd al-Hakk, *Maasir al-Umara*, ed. Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali and Maulavi Abd al-Rahim, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1887–91), vol. 1, pp. 145–51. For Dara Shikoh see Hamid al-Din Khan, *Ahkam-i Alamgiri*, Persian text with an English translation by Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta, 1912), p. 32.
5. Abd al-Hamid, *Badshah Namah*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 221–2; vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 235–41.

6. Ibid., vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 12–13.
7. Gordon Sanderson, 'The Shah Burj—Delhi Fort', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1909–10* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 30; Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 1, pp. 248–9.
8. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 1, pp. 310–11.
9. Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir al-Umara*, vol. 3, pp. 462–3.
10. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 26–7.
11. Ibid., p. 27.
12. Ibid.
13. For a discussion of this concept see Paul Wheatley, 'What the Greatness of a City is Said to be', *Pacific Viewpoint* 4 (1963):179.
14. William Foster ed., *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619* (London, 1921), p. 100.
15. Richard Steel and John Crowther, 'A Journal of Richard Steel and John Crowther', in Samuel Purchas ed., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims*, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905), vol. 4, p. 267.
16. John Jourdain, *The Journal of John Jourdain: 1608–17*, ed. William Foster (Cambridge, 1905), p. 164.
17. For Bakhtiyar Kaki see Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 62–3. For Nizam al-Din Auliya see Archaeological Survey of India, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Zail*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1915–22), vol. 2, pp. 146–51; Sharma, *Delhi*, pp. 15–16; and J. Burton-Page, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. 'Dihli', p. 263. For Chiragh-i Dihli see Sharma, *Delhi*, p. 77 and Burton-Page, 'Dihli', p. 263. For Hasrat Baqi Billah see *List of Monuments*, vol. 2, pp. 237–9, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid* (Delhi, 1854; reprint, Delhi, 1965), p. 255.
18. Jadunath Sarkar trans., *The India of Aurangzeb, with Extracts from The Khulasatu-i-Tawarikh and The Chahar Gulshan* (Calcutta, 1907), p. 10.
19. There are descriptions of such celebrations in Shahjahanabad during 1740–1. For Bakhtiyar Kaki see Nawab Dargah Kuli Khan Salar Jang, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', Persian Manuscript Collection, Add. 26, 237, British Museum, fol. 80a–81b; for Nizam al-Din Auliya see Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 80a–81b; for Chiragh-i Dihli see Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 81b–82b; and for Baqi Billah see Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 80b.
20. Nizam al-Din Harawi, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1913–40), vol. 2, p. 299.
21. Abd al-Hamid, *Badshah Namah*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 6.
22. Chaturman Rai, 'Chahar Gulshan', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1791, British Museum, fol. 33b.
23. Ghulam Muhammad Khan, 'Navad al-Qisas', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1866, British Museum, fol. 15b.
24. Hakim Maharat Khan Isfahani, 'Bahjat al-Alam', Persian Manuscript Collection, Ethe 729, India Office Library, fol. 34a.
25. Muhammad Salih Kanbo Lahauri, 'Bahar-i Sukhan', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 178, British Museum, fol. 203b.
26. Ustad Ahmad seems to have been a favourite of Shahjahan's. According to a poem of his son Lutfullah Muhandis, Ahmad had been put in charge of the work on Taj Mahal. See M. Abdullah Chagahtai, 'A Great Family of Mughal Architects', *Islamic Culture* 9 (April 1937), pp. 200–9. It seems likely then that Ahmad was a

member of Shahjahan's not Ghairat Khan's household. Shahjahan probably sent him to Delhi to oversee the construction under Ghairat Khan's supervision. In all likelihood, this is the reason both court historians placed Ahmad in the establishment of the subahdar.

27. Niccolo Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, William Irvine trans., 4 vols. (London, 1907–8; reprint, Calcutta, 1965), vol. 1, p. 177.
28. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 28; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', Persian Manuscript Collection, Add. 6556, British Museum, fol. 401.
29. *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 126.
30. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 56–9; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 406a–7.
31. E. A. J. Johnson, *The Organization of Space in Developing Countries* (Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 3–5 and David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 31–4, argue that the organization of urban space is of great significance. E. Baldwin Smith examines this aspect of urban structure in his imaginative book on imperial Rome, *The Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1956).
32. *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 187.
33. For a discussion of these gates see Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 133, and Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, pp. 93–4.
34. Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, p. 9.
35. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods* (Bombay, 1965), pp. 64–5.
36. Prasana Kumar Acharya, *Indian Architecture According to the Mansara Silpa Sastra* (London, 1927), p. 88. See also Binode Behari Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India* (London, 1925), pp. 237–9.
37. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 46–8; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, pp. 95–6; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 133–4, 708.
38. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire: 1956–68*, Irving Brock trans., Archibald Constable ed. (London, 1891; reprint, Delhi, 1968), pp. 245–6.
39. Andrea Butenschen, *The Life of A Mogul Princess, Jahanara Begum, Daughter of Shahjahan* (London, 1931), p. 31.
40. Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 88a–89a.
41. Ibid., fol. 89a–89b; Anand Ram Mukhlis, 'Mirat al-Istilah', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1813, British Museum, fol. 218a–18b.
42. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 48–9; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, pp. 96–7; and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 134.
43. Muhammad Bakhsh Ashob, 'Tarikh-i Shahadat-i Farrukhsiyar-u Julus-i Muhammad Shah', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1832, British Museum, fol. 51b–52a.
44. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 48; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 134.
45. Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 86b–88a; Anand Ram Mukhlis, 'Mirat al-Istilah', fol. 53b–54a; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, p. 95.
46. Jean Bernoulli ed., *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Berlin, Chreien Sigismund Spener, 1786), vol. 1, *Geographique de l'Indoustan*, by Joseph Tieffenthaler, p. 127.

47. For a general discussion see Elisabeth B. McDougal and Richard Ettinghausen ed., *The Islamic Garden*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, IV (Washington, 1976). For gardens in Mughal India see C. M. Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens of Mughal India* (London, 1913).
48. Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens*, pp. 13–16, 21–2.
49. Ibid., pp. 86–8.
50. Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, vol. 1, p. 337.
51. William Franklin, 'An Account of the Present State of Delhi', *Asiatick Researches* 4 (1795), p. 421.
52. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 288; *Monuments*, vol. 2, pp. 266–7.
53. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 288–9.
54. Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens*, pp. 103–5; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 287–8; *Monuments*, vol. 4, pp. 33–4.
55. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 325; *Monuments*, vol. 2, pp. 270–1.
56. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 330; *Monuments*, vol. 2, p. 295; Hermann Goetz, 'The Qudsia Bagh at Delhi: Key to Late Mughal Architecture', *Islamic Culture*, 26 (January 1952), pp. 132–54.
57. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 47; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 283–4; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, pp. 229–33.
58. Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens*, p. 47.
59. Abd al-Baqi, *Maasir-i Rahimi*, vol. 2, pp. 601–2.
60. Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir al-Umara*, vol. 2, pp. 795–807; Abd al-Hamid, *Badshah Namah*, vol. 2, pp. 168–9.
61. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 29; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', foll. 401–1a; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 135–6; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, pp. 234–5; *Monuments*, vol. 2, p. 264; Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 420; Gordon Sanderson, *Delhi Fort: A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens*, Zafar Hasan ed. (Calcutta, 1932), pp. 63–4; Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and the Adjacent Countries*, 2 vols. (London, 1820), vol. 1, p. 414; Major Polier, 'Extracts of Letters from Major Polier at Delhi, to Col. Ironside at Belgram, May 22, 1776', *Asiatic Annual Register* 2 (1800), p. 37.
62. Polier, 'Extracts of Letters', vol. 2, p. 37.
63. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 136.
64. Maheshwar Dayal, *Rediscovering Delhi: The Story of Shahjahanabad* (New Delhi, 1975), p. 26.
65. Chaturman Rai, 'Chahar Gulshan', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1791, British Museum, fol. 37a–b.
66. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 17.
67. *Monuments*, vol. 4, pp. 53–4, 59–61; Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, vol. 1, p. 115.
68. Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, vol. 1, pp. 67–70, 115.
69. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 48.
70. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 49.
71. Thomas William Beale, *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh* (Agra, 1849), p. 413.
72. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 47; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 280–1; Manucci, *Storia da Mogor*, vol. 1, pp. 212–13.
73. Butenschen, *Jahanara Begum*, p. 30.
74. *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 2; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 96–9; Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 32; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 402.

75. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 44; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 256; and Muhammad Saqi Mustaidd Khan, *Maasir-i Alamgiri* (Calcutta, 1873–5), p. 78. There has been a good deal of confusion about the number and location of the elephants. For a discussion see Gordon Sanderson, 'Shahjahan's Fort, Delhi', *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1911–12* (Calcutta, 1915), pp. 26–7; Sanderson, *Shahjahan's Fort*, pp. 9–10; and J. H. Marshall, 'Restoration of Two Elephant Statues at the Fort of Delhi', *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1905–6* (Calcutta, 1909), pp. 33–42.
76. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 100.
77. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 402–2a; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, p. 43.
78. *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 2; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 243; and Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 402a.
79. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 46; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 404; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 243; Sangin Beg, 'Sair al-Manazil', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1762, British Museum, p. 59.
80. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 243.
81. Ibid.
82. For a discussion of the Mughal state as an example of the patrimonial–bureaucratic empire see Stephen P. Blake, 'The Patrimonial–Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (November 1979), pp. 77–94.
83. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 41; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 405–5a; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 108–10.
84. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 41–2; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', foll. 404a–5; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 111–17. Similar balconies could also be found in the forts at Agra and Lahore. See *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 20.
85. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 243.
86. Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 33–4.
87. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 406.
88. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 42–3; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 405–6; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 259–63; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 102–7.
89. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 1, pp. 244–6, vol. 2, p. 42.
90. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 35; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 404–404a; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 117–18; *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 20; Abd al-Hamid, *Badshah Namah*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 78–81; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, William Crooke ed., V. Ball trans., 2 vols. (London, 1925), vol. 1, pp. 381–4. Sanderson's account of this hall is flawed. The passage from the *Badshah Namah* ('Shahjahan's Fort', pp. 17–19) describes the Peacock Throne in the Hall of Ordinary Audience in Akbarabad not in the Hall of Special Audience in Shahjahanabad. This explains Sanderson's puzzlement in fn. 1, p. 17 over the location of the throne.
91. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays on the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition, Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations*, no. 4 (New York, American Anthropological Society, memoir 81, 1955), pp. 141–58.
92. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 35; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 404a; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 119–20.
93. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', foll. 402a–3; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 128–31.

94. Muhammad Kazim b. Muhammad Amin, *Alamgir Namah*, Maulavi Khadim Husain and Maulavi Abd al-Hai ed., 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1865–73), vol. 1, pp. 467–81.
95. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 36–7; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', foll. 403a–4; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 124–8.
96. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 404.
97. Sanderson, *Shahjahan's Fort*, p. 8.
98. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 406; Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 43; *Monuments*, vol. 1, pp. 10–11; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, p. 102.
99. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 44. Shahjahan saw a covered octagonal bazar in Peshawar that he greatly admired. He sent a plan of the structure to Makramat Khan with orders to model the bazar in the palace-fortress after it. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 471–2.
100. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 402a; Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 43–4; Chandar Bhan, 'Chahar Chaman', p. 142; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 258; *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 10.
101. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 402a, 406; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 257; Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 43.
102. Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 406. The lines probably describe Siri, the capital of Ala al-Din Khalji and the Delhi of Khusrau's day.
103. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 82.
104. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 245–7.
105. Hakim Maharat Khan Isfahani, 'Bahjat-al-Alam', Persian Manuscript Collection, Ethe 729, India Office Library, fol. 35b.
106. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 246.
107. C. R. Wilson, *The English in Bengal*, vol. 2, pt. 2: *The Surman Embassy* (Calcutta, 1911), p. 124.
108. 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', Persian Manuscript Collection, Ethe 2784, India Office Library, fol. 108a–11a. See also Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 401 and Abd al-Baqi, *Maasir-i Rahimi*, vol. 2, p. 611.
109. For Safdar Jang's mansion see James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4 vols. (London, 1813), vol. 4, pp. 63–4.
110. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 45.
111. Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422; 'Description of Delhi and Its Environs', *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 15 (January–June 1823), p. 552; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 61–2; 'Ahwal-i Khan Dauran', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 180, British Museum, fol. 179b.
112. 'Description of Delhi', p. 552; Anand Ram Mukhlis, 'Dastur al-Amal', Persian Manuscript Collection, Ethe 2125, India Office Library, fol. 49b; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 63–4; Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422; 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 5b–108, 126b–137b; 'Delhi Newsletters of 1781 A.D.', Persian Manuscript Collection, Add. 25020, British Museum, fol. 134a. This last manuscript describes the mansion of Majd al-Daulah, number five on Map II.
113. Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422; 'Delhi Newsletters', fol. 129a–31b; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 64–5.
114. For Safdar Jang's *teh khanah* see Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422 and Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 64–5. For the chamber in Sa adat Khan's mansion (number ten on Map II) see Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422.

115. For the mansion of Abd al-Razaq see Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 108a–b. The *diwan khanah* in the mansion of Raushan al-Daulah (number seven on Map II) is described briefly in Ashob, 'Tarikh-i Shahadat-i Farrukh-siyar'.
116. 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 137b–39b; 'Ahwal-i Khan Dauran', fol. 161b–62b.
117. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 247–8; Polier, 'Extracts of Letters', vol. 2, pp. 29–30; Abd al-Baqi, *Maasir-i Rahimi*, vol. 2, p. 496; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, p. 64; 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 132a; Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, p. 375. The furnishings of Raushan al-Daulah's mansion are described in Ashob, 'Tarikh-i Muhammad Shah', fol. 48b.
118. 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 109a–b; 'Description of Delhi', p. 552. 'Delhi Newsletters' fol. 134a; Gulshan, 'Surat-i Hal', Persian Manuscript Collection, Add. 16,805, British Museum, fol. 19a. See Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422 for a description of the bath in Saadat Khan's mansion.
119. 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 108b-9a. For mosques in mansions see *Monuments*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 47 and Bashir al-Din Ahmad, *Waqiat*, vol. 2, p. 151.
120. 'Bayaz-i Khushbui', fol. 109b–11a, 154a–56a; Abd-al Hamid, *Badshah Namah*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 243; Franklin, 'Account of Delhi', p. 422; Dargah Kuli Khan, 'Risalah-i Salar Jang', fol. 108a; Gulshan, 'Surat-i Hal', fol. 19a; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 247–8; Thomas Twining, *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, William H. G. Twining ed. (London, 1893), pp. 222, 225.
121. Anand Ram, 'Mirat al-Istilah', fol. 166b; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir al-Umara*, vol. 1, pp. 241–7; Anand Ram Mukhlis, 'Journey from Delhi to Mukhtesar', William Irvine trans., *The Indian Magazine and Review*, n.s. (1903), p. 67.
122. Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar Namah*, Agha Ahmad Ali and Maulavi Abd al-Rahim ed., 3 vols. (Calcutta, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 365; Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari Panipati, 'Tarikh-i Muzzafari', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 466, British Museum, fol. 262b; 'Tarikh-i Farrukhabad', Persian Manuscript Collection, Or. 1718, British Museum, fol. 4a.
123. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 61–2.
124. M. Gentile, *Mémoires Sur l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol* (Paris, 1822), p. 188.
125. J. Horowitz, 'A List of the Published Mohammedan Inscriptions of India', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*1909–10*), p. 32.
126. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, p. 51.
127. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 6.
128. Tieffenthaler, *Geographique de l'Indoustan*, vol. 1, p. 126.
129. *Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 2.
130. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 51–5; Muhammad Waris, 'Padshah Namah', fol. 513b–17b; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar*, pp. 272–83; Sharma, *Delhi*, pp. 143–4.
131. Aurangzeb's mosque in the palace-fortress, Moti Masjid, is the prime example. For the mosque in Qamar al-Din's mansion see Figure 3. Other examples can be found in *Monuments*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 89–90.
132. Neil B. E. Baillie, ed. and trans., *A Digest of Muhammadan Law*, 2 vols. (London, 1865–69), vol. 1, p. 605.
133. There were mosques in all twenty-eight mansions. The Moti Masjid and the mosque in Ghazi al-Din Khan's tomb bring the total to thirty.
134. Muhammad Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 3, pp. 49–50.
135. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. 5–6.
136. See Blake, 'Patrimonial–Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals', pp. 77–94.

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ROLE OF DELHI, 1675–1725

SATISH CHANDRA

Historians have generally disregarded the important role played by Delhi in the formulation and development of the composite Indo-Mughal culture which assumed an important shape during the eighteenth century, and influenced the upper classes as well as broad sections in the cities in northern India and beyond during the subsequent period. A number of recent studies on towns in India during the medieval period[1] have enabled us to understand better the nature of the medieval town and the factors which led to the growth and development of towns during that period. These studies have generally focussed their attention on trade and commerce, manufactures, lay-out and general appearance of the towns, and their role in the growth of the economy. In the present paper, we shall try to assess the position and role of Delhi in the political and cultural life of the country during the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Studies on the growth of towns in medieval India hardly support Bernier's dictum that in India towns were little more than armed military camps.[2] It is true that many of the towns, such as Delhi, Agra, Lahore, etc., began as military cantonments, or as the capitals of empires. However, many of the towns which had originally been chosen as capitals on account of their strategic importance, became in course of time centres of trade and manufacture, and played a definite role in the economy of the country or the region. Towns of this type showed a considerable capacity to survive or even to grow in adverse political circumstances. Delhi, Lahore and Agra may be considered typical cases of this type. Lahore which had been the capital of the Ghazanavids (eleventh century), declined in political importance with the rise of Delhi as the capital of the Sultanate towards the end of the twelfth century. However, under the Sultanate and the Mughals,

Lahore remained one of the most populous cities in the world, and an extremely important centre for commerce and manufacture. Agra, which had been established in 1506 and remained the capital of a large empire from that time till 1638 when Shahjahan finally shifted the capital to Delhi, continued to grow apace. It outclassed Delhi in size, and remained one of the most important centres of trade and manufacture even after it ceased to be the capital of the empire.[3] Delhi was the capital of the Sultanate for over 200 years before the rise of Agra, and emerged as one of the most important centres, politically, economically and culturally. It was outclassed both in size and in commercial importance by Lahore and Agra during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, in the eyes of the people, Delhi continued to be the metropolis (*shahar*), and anyone who aspired to be the ruler of Hindustan could not ignore it. This, rather than the excessive heat of Agra in summer, on account of its 'being surrounded by sands'[4] may explain Shahjahan's decision to shift his capital from Agra to Delhi.

From 1679, Delhi again remained without a king. Aurangzeb left Delhi in 1679 for Rajasthan and then marched to the Deccan where he remained till his death in 1707. His eldest surviving son, Bahadur Shah, who reigned till 1712, never entered Delhi as Emperor. After defeating his rival, Azam, at Jaju near Agra and crowning himself there (1707), Bahadur Shah marched to Marwar and from there to the Deccan to deal with his one remaining enemy, Prince Kam Bakhsh. However, on his departure, Bahadur Shah posted to Delhi Asad Khan, the former *wazir* of Aurangzeb, to whom he had granted the imposing title of *Wakil-il-Mutlaq*. The appointment of the seniormost officer as the *Subahdar* of Delhi served to underline the political significance of Delhi. Bahadur Shah was conscious of this, and when he crossed the Narmada to deal with Kam Bakhsh, he placed all of north India under the jurisdiction of the *Wakil-il-Mutlaq*.[5]

After returning to north India in 1710, Bahadur Shah learnt of the Sikh rebellion in the Panjab. In order to deal with the Sikhs, Bahadur Shah decided to march from Ajmer by way of Sambhar, Narnol and Pataudi to Sonepat, leaving Delhi on his right. This was not to belittle Delhi. Delhi was a big attraction, for many nobles and soldiers had their homes there. To prevent desertions, Bahadur Shah proclaimed that no man should visit Delhi without permission, nor should any man's family come out to the camp (*chhavani*) to see him.[6] From Sonepat, Bahadur Shah proceeded to Lahore which he made his

headquarters in order to co-ordinate the campaign against the Sikhs, while Asad Khan remained at Delhi. Bahadur Shah died at Lahore on 27 February 1712. The first reigning Mughal sovereign who entered Delhi after the departure of Aurangzeb from it in 1679, was Bahadur Shah's son and successor, Jahandar Shah. After winning the inevitable civil war at Lahore, Jahandar Shah left that city on 1 May 1712 (25 *Rabi* I, 1124 H.) and entered Delhi on 22 June 1712 (18 *Jamadi* I).

Thus, from 1679 to 1712, close to thirty-three years, Delhi remained without a king. We do not have any detailed accounts of the life and conditions at Delhi during the Emperor's absence. However, there is evidence to show that during this period, Delhi remained an important centre for trade, commerce and manufactures, and emerged an important cultural centre. Even though the Emperor was in the Deccan, Delhi still retained the title of *Dar-ul-Khilafat* or the seat of the Empire, and the symbolic centre of power, the Red Fort, inspired respect and awe. This is signalized by a typical case. In 1696–7, Mahabat Khan Ibrahim, a Deccani noble, who had been appointed *Subahdar* of Lahore, applied and received from the Emperor permission to view the fort and palace buildings at Delhi while on his way from the Deccan to Lahore. However, the *Subahdar* of Delhi, Aqil Khan, disregarded the Imperial order, and wrote to Aurangzeb saying that 'he (Mahabat Khan) is a Haidarabadi and not a man of such position that he should be allowed to view that imperial palace for his diversion'.[7]

On account of the keen interest taken by Shahjahan in artistic activities, and the patronage extended to poets and scholars, both Hindu and Muslim, by Dara Shikoh, by the middle of the seventeenth century Delhi had emerged as an important centre of culture. Aurangzeb however evinced little interest in cultural activities. In 1668, he decided to banish music from the court since 'his devotion to duty left no time for festivity', but ceremonial music (*naubat*) was continued.[8] He showed little interest in poets, possibly because he felt that they were too much influenced by sufi mysticism and monism (*wahadat-ul-wajud*). In consequence he considered them 'purveyors of untruth'.[9] Aurangzeb also frowned upon painting as un-Islamic. However, this withdrawal of royal patronage from cultural activities resulted only in a limited set-back. Litterateurs and artists who had received encouragement from the Mughal emperors from the time of Akbar downwards, now looked to the inmates of the *harim* and to princes such as Azam and some of the leading nobles

for support and patronage. A number of writers, painters and musicians repaired to provincial centres such as Lahore, Srinagar, Patna, Thatta, Allahabad, etc., and to the courts of autonomous rulers (Amber, Bikaner, Bundi, etc.).[10] This implied a wider diffusion of the culture developed at the Mughal court. However, many of the artists were loth to leave Delhi. Chandni Chawk with *Nahr-i-Faiz* flowing down the centre, and tall trees lining both sides of the street, with coffee houses, and the dance and music houses which were presided over by well-known courtesans had become a resort for poets, artists and music lovers.[11] Soon Jahanara, who was highly educated and accomplished, as is evident from her extant correspondence with Aurangzeb, resumed her position as the first lady of the realm. After the death of Shahjahan (1666), she emerged from her self-imposed seclusion and was assigned the house of Ali Mardan Khan—one of the famous houses of Delhi.[12] Aurangzeb fixed a handsome allowance on her. She used her wealth and influence for relieving the distressed, healing discords in the royal family and cultivating the saints, especially the Sufi saints. Having been enrolled earlier as a disciple of the liberal Sufi saint, Mian Mir of Lahore, she turned her attention to the Chishti saint, Shaikh Muinuddin, and wrote a work, *Munis-ul-Arwah*, on his life. It is almost certain that her liberality extended to poets and artists. She died there in Delhi in 1681.[13] Meanwhile the cultural leadership of Delhi had been assumed by Zeb-un-Nisa, the daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and by the *Subahdar* of Delhi, Aqil Khan, who bore the pen-name '*Razi*'. Although Aurangzeb had banished Zeb-un-Nisa from Delhi in 1679 for supporting his rebel son, Prince Akbar, and she was a prisoner from this time to her death in 1702, she was allowed a good deal of freedom and sufficient allowance. According to a contemporary, she 'appreciated the value of learning and skill; and all her heart was set on the collection, copying and reading of books and she turned her kind attention to improving the lot of scholars as gifted men. The result was that she collected a library, the like of which no man has seen; and large numbers of theologians, scholars, poets, scribes and calligraphists by this means came to enjoy the bounty of this lady hidden in the *harim*.' She set up a *bait-ul-ulum* (academy) for the training of artists.[14] Aqil Khan who was a close associate of Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of Delhi in 1680 and held that post till his death in 1696. An historian and a *masnavi* writer, he has left behind many romances: *Masnavi Mah-o-Mahar or Manohar wa*

Madhumalati, Masnavi Shama-o-Parwana or Padmavati, etc., and a *Diwan*.[15]

Among the well-known poets who had made Delhi their home, and who decided not to leave it in the train of the Mughal court, pride of place may be given to Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil. Bedil, who was in the service of Prince Azam, resigned his post in 1684–5 from Gujarat, and repaired to Delhi, where he spent the next thirty-six years of his life (d. 1720). He was deeply influenced by the mystic poetry of Ibn Arabi and Maulana Rum and may be considered a liberal, having associated with Sufis of both types—those who were strictly bound by *sharia*, and those who were not. His broad interests are demonstrated by the fact that he knew Hindi well, and knew in full the story of the *Mahabharata*. He was also adept in music. He was closely associated with Aqil Khan Razi because of their common interest in *tasawwuf* (mysticism). Bedil, who is considered the leading Persian poet of the age, trained a large number of poets. Soon a school of poets emerged at Delhi. When Bedil died (1720), an annual *urs* began to be organized at his grave where poets would read their new compositions.[16]

The question arises, who patronised the works of these poets? That Delhi was already an important centre of poetry is borne out by the visit to Delhi in 1700 by Wali Deccani (1667–1744). Accompanied by Abul Muali, Wali met at Delhi famous poets and saints, including Sadullah Gulshan, a poet, scholar and saint of Delhi. His poetic works and personality inspired a number of poets at Delhi to use Urdu as a medium of literary expression.[17]

It would appear that a small leisured class had emerged at Delhi which had both the means and the desire to offer patronage to cultural activities. Apart from inmates of the *harim*, a number of nobles had settled in Delhi and made it their home (*watan*). These nobles sought to supplement their incomes by laying out orchards, or building markets (*mandis*). Some of the nobles also traded or let out money on interest, Delhi being one of the biggest money markets in the country. Many businessmen, manufacturers, religious leaders, and *madadd-i-mash* holders had also settled down in Delhi and acquired a taste for the life it offered. This broadening of the cultural base was a significant factor in the life of Delhi during the eighteenth century.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, two rival centres emerged for the development and transmission of cultural

values. One was at Aurangabad, i.e. the court of Aurangzeb in the Deccan which laid emphasis on theology, religious studies, etc., largely based on the orthodox Hanafi school; the other was at Delhi where the traditions of liberalism initiated by Akbar and Jahangir and which had been nurtured by Dara Shukoh were continued and developed further.[18] The role of Delhi as the metropolis of liberalism in the field of culture and religion is significant. During the same period, the tradition of the liberal Sufi order, the Chishti *silsilah*, were also sought to be revived by Shaikh Kalimullah (1650–1729). As has been mentioned above, Jahanara had devoted herself to the growth and revival of the Chishti order at Delhi towards the end of her life. Visiting the tombs of saints, especially on special occasions such as their *urs* became one of the favourite pastimes of the Delhi populace. Orthodox elements always frowned upon these practices, but their continuance and growing popularity showed the wide diffusion of Sufi ideas and beliefs which coincided with many Hindu ideas and practices.

Delhi regained its political importance after the death of Bahadur Shah. From the entry of the new emperor Jahandar Shah into Delhi in June 1712 till November 1759, when Alamgir II, the puppet Emperor, was assassinated, Delhi remained the seat of the Mughal Emperors and the capital of the empire, albeit of a rapidly diminishing one. The expectations that a new young Emperor would re-establish the prestige of the monarchy, restore the nobility to their old position of affluence and prestige, and safeguard the citizens' needs by curbing hoarders and profiteers and ensuring a regular supply of foodgrains, etc., were inevitably disappointed. The inherent defects of the *jagirdari* system could not be resolved without radical reforms and changes for which the people of Delhi were not prepared. A factor which most seriously affected the citizens and the smaller *mansabdars*, and which made the new regime unpopular from the start, was the high price of foodgrains. According to a contemporary, 'the calamities of death and fire and the scarcity of foodgrains reached a limit that nobody had ever seen or heard of in the past.'[19] A widespread epidemic raged following the famine. Owing to the great famine and epidemic, scores of common people and imperial troopers died in Delhi for want of bread, and 'became carrion feed for kites and crows'.[20] That this did not affect the rich but only the poor is brought out by another observer who says: '*Khar-muhra*, black til, white and red rice were to be seen only in the

imperial treasury and in the establishment of big nobles who had good *jagirs* or in the shops of big *sahukars*' (money-lenders/big traders).[21]

The nobles, the ***khanazads***[22], and the religious classes had their own woes. Till then, each Emperor had received back into service any noble who had supported a rival prince, saying that they might have supported whosoever they chose but were loyal to the crown. Under Jahandar Shah and his *wazir*, Zulfiqar Khan, this changed. A series of executions, and imprisonments and confiscations of property of those nobles who had supported the defeated princes created a sense of uncertainty. Zulfiqar Khan gave a flat refusal to all those who had been in the employ of rival princes.[23] After his accession, Farrukh Siyar continued with the executions and confiscation of property. The execution of Zulfiqar Khan and disgrace of the venerable Asad Khan set a seal to this new era of insecurity and bitter factional warfare. Second, Jahandar Shah raised his favourite, Lal Kunwar, who came from a family of *kalawants* (musicians) to the status of a queen. Such an elevation of a woman of low standing, however undesirable it may be considered by the nobility, had many precedents. Even Aurangzeb had married a dancing girl and given her the status of a queen with the title, Bai Udaipuri Mahal. While Jahandar Shah's *wazir*, Zulfiqar Khan, did not allow the relations of the new queen to interfere unduly in matters political, what was distressing to the nobles was that the Emperor, who spent much of his time in the company of Lal Kunwar and her kinsmen, threw all decency to the winds. He got drunk in public, and allowed the *kalawants* to take liberties with him. Thus, the Emperor, who was expected to be the symbol of dignity and authority, and exemplify social norms,[24] no longer did so. A contemporary who lived at Delhi through Jahandar's reign noted:

> Everybody high and low immersed themselves in a life of ease and pleasure, and music both vocal and instrumental reached such heights that in all quarters of the city, except the sounds of music and the lusty shoutings no other sound was to be heard. There was no one to pay heed to those oppressed by the *kalawants*, and whose life and property was in danger. All the things forbidden by the *sharia* were completely forgotten by the Shah and the soldiers alike, and from *faqir* to *wazir* everyone became immersed in things forbidden, and became heedless of everything else except pleasure. Little by little, the prestige and dignity of the sovereign was forgotten by high and low alike, and the king appeared to

be a king in the game of chess, being moved hither and thither [by the *kalawants*].[25]

Social stability was a continuing problem in medieval India, with a small class of landholders, administrators and upper caste people trying to maintain social and intellectual control over a vast majority with a different life style and often, different political perceptions. Hence, a certain code of probity and righteousness combined with stern justice was expected from the monarch, who was considered the undoubted leader of the class of nobles and administrators and their dependents, including the *shurfa* and the theologians. On account of relative stability for more than a hundred years, many non-Muslim landholders too had started looking to the Mughal emperor for support. Neither Jahandar Shah nor his rival successor, Farrukh Siyar, could fulfil these demands and hence failed to unify the nobles, the *shurfa*, the theologians etc. This was undoubtedly a factor in their defeat and overthrow.

The large class of *khanazads*, many of whom lived at Delhi and who had always looked to the Emperor for employment and support, were adversely affected by the weakening of the emperor's position and the wholesale violation of established rules by Jahandar Shah. Farrukh Siyar, who ruled for almost seven years, was unable to restore the prestige of the Mughal monarchy. The spate of executions at the beginning of his reign, his lack of administrative experience, and his fickle-mindedness made it impossible for him to rally the nobility to his side in opposition to the *wazir* and the *mir bakhshi*, who were the Saiyid brothers, who had been granted these posts in return for their services in elevating Farrukh Siyar the throne. His close association with the Kashmiri, Itiqad Khan, who was considered low-born and a homosexual also made him a subject of obloquy, and undermined his position.[26] Though love of handsome boys was by no means unusual among a section of high society at that time, apparently there were certain norms which could not be violated even by a monarch.

These, and the further erosion of administrative norms under Farrukh Siyar adversely affected the old nobility. According to Khafi Khan, the subordinate officials, the Hindus, the eunuchs and Kashmiris, by force and cunning acquired *mansabs* beyond their deserts, and accumulated in their hands the most profitable *jagirs*, with the result that there was a shortage of *jagirs* for the others. 'People belonging to old families [were] reduced to the dust.'[27]

Despite all this, the citizens of Delhi and the upper classes continued to look up to the Emperor as the fountain-head of order and justice. The strongly expressed sentiments of the citizens of Delhi and of a number of other cities[28] against the dethronement and murder of Farrukh Siyar by the Saiyid brothers had a bearing on the inability of the Saiyids to consolidate their rule, and acted as a warning to future usurpers. For instance, Nizam-ul-Mulk's action in 1723 in leaving for the Deccan rather than trying to imitate the Saiyid brothers by installing his own nominee on the throne in place of Muhammad Shah was, to some extent, influenced by the attitude of the citizens of Delhi.[29]

With the rapid growth of Maratha power after 1723, and the rise of semi-independent principalities (*riyasat*) of Bengal, Hyderabad, Awadh, etc., the political importance of Delhi declined to some extent. However, it did not abate altogether because of the position of the Mughal Emperor as the titular head of the Indian polity from whom all legitimacy flowed. The Marathas and even the British at a later stage approached the Mughal Emperor to legitimize their political gains.

The phase from 1724 to Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 was a period of rapid internal decay of the empire but one of outer brilliance for Delhi as far as its cultural life was concerned. The phase 1740 to 1760 was a period of growing anarchy, particularly towards the end during which many poets, artists, respectable citizens and artisans were compelled to leave Delhi to seek refuge or patronage elsewhere. However, the period of real anarchy for Delhi lasted only for about twenty years, from the Abdali invasion in 1756 to Mahaji Sindhia's triumphal return to Delhi with Shah Alam II in 1774.

It would thus be wrong to dub the entire eighteenth century a period of 'unchecked decline' for Delhi.[30] Economically and culturally during the first half of the century Delhi continued to have in some ways a unique position. The pillaging and massacre at Delhi perpetrated by Nadir Shah in 1739 was a deep shock, and created a mood of insecurity among rich and poor. However, the plunder by Nadir Shah and his troops did not make any lasting impact on the commerce and manufacture of the city. This was apparently so for two main reasons—first, much of the wealth disgorged by Nadir Shah was hoarded wealth which was not in circulation, and second because the amount carried away by Nadir Shah was, by all accounts, a small part of the gold and silver circulating in northern India. Since India continued to have a favourable foreign trade, the loss thus sustained was quickly made up.

Writing in 1780, the author of the *Maasir-ul-Umara* says:

> Nadir Shah's occupation resulted in a set back to the prosperity of the city, but in a short while it returned to normal, and in fact in everything it is now better and shows progress. A description of its decoration is not possible for the pen: its industries and manufactures are flourishing, and music and convivial meetings are a common feature of the life of people.[31]

To some extent, the picture of the depopulation and ruin of Delhi, the decline of trade and manufacture, the penury of the nobles and their dependents including soldiers and the professional castes, and the flight of poets and artists to other climes in search of patronage is based on the writings of Urdu poets, especially their *Shahr Ashobs*. As is known, the tradition of writing *Shahr-Ashob* was an old one.[32] Writing on the condition of Delhi during the brief period of civil war following the illness of Shahjahan, Bahishti tells us how all the trades and professions had been ruined, and social values were collapsing. Jafar Zatalli, writing during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign, not only dwells on the difficulty of getting employment, but rues that society was breaking down, those in service could not make two ends meet, soldiers were heavily in debt to *mahajans* and were selling their weapons, people of mean professions, the cotton carder, the weaver, the vegetable seller and the butcher, etc. were well off, people of low castes (*rajal*) were getting preference.[33]

It is clear that the crisis of the Mughal ruling class, for which I have elsewhere used the term 'crisis of the jagirdari system' was a deep-seated one. But this spelt not so much an absolute decline, as a prolonged period of stagnation.[34] Within the framework of a feudal society, the culture that was developed in Delhi during the first half of the eighteenth century was as broad-based as possible. To Muhammad Shah goes the credit of sedulously fostering and preserving these traditions.[35] The growth of a number of principalities (*riyasat*) in different regions and autonomous kingdoms provided for law and order over broad areas. These, and the growth of international trade, including exports to Europe, apparently acted as some kind of countervailing factor. How far it extended is of course a matter for detailed study. During the period Delhi emerged as the unrivalled centre for Indo-Mughal culture. The interest in architecture declined and painting remained largely repetitive, but the real glory of this period lies in the field of literature and music and in the consolidation of the traditions of an urban, humanistic, broad-based culture, largely

free from sectarian bias. While Persian continued to be used by a section of the upper classes, Urdu began to emerge as the language of the classes and the masses. Thus, among the Urdu poets of the period mention may be made of Muhammad Aman Nisar, a musician; Husain Vakhshi, a cloth merchant; Madan Singh Shaguftah, a goldsmith; Shambhu Nath Aziz, a banker, and Mir Sadiq Ali Sadiq who was a broker.[36]

With such a broad base, Urdu verse soon became popular among all classes. Urdu poetry absorbed not only some of the best traditions of Persian poetry, it also drew on Hindi, some of the Persian and Urdu poets also composing in Hindi.[37] Thus, Urdu verse emerged as the best representative of an integrated culture. Only two representative poets, Sauda and Atish, need be cited to bring out the spirit of this poetry. Thus, Sauda says:

Gharz kufr se kuchh nah dīn se hai maṭlab,
Tamāshāe dehro-ḥaram dekhate hain.
Infidelity and Faith (i.e. Hinduism and Islam) thus do not concern each other,
We look upon a spectacle of both the sacred and the profane.

In the words of Atish

But kẖānah tora daliye, Masjid ko dhaiye;
Dil ko nah toriye, yeh kẖudā kā maqām hai.
Break the temples, and uproot the mosques,
But do not break anyone's heart, for that is the abode of God.

NOTES

1. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556–1803* (Bombay, 1968); *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1971; Paper read at Seminar on Urbanization, Amritsar, 1978 (mimeo).
2. François Bernier, *Travels*, tr. Constable, pp. 246–7: 'It is because of these thatched and mud houses that I always represented to myself Delhi as a collection of villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are usually found in such place.'
   It may be noted that Bernier does not argue that Delhi did not have any crafts.
3. Naqvi, *Urban Centres*, p. 19.
4. Tavernier, *Travels*, p. 86. Mrs H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres*, p. 19, has merely echoed Tavernier's views, but adding the notion that the desert was moving

towards Agra. As recent scientific studies show, the march of the desert towards Agra is a myth.

5. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707–40*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1979), pp. 25–6, 35–6.

   At the outbreak of the Rajput war, Asad Khan was asked to co-ordinate the campaign against the Rajas. Instead, Asad Khan opened negotiations with them. In December 1708, Asad Khan reported that the Rajput affair had ended. The Emperor was pleased and remakred, 'Well done. In reality, it is Asad Khan who is governing Hindustan.' (*Akhbarat*, 3 December 1708).
6. Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. I (Calcutta, n.d.), pp. 105–6.
7. Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri (M.A.)*, Bib. Ind., pp. 383–4.
8. *M.A.*71. Mustaid Khan says that he had 'a perfect expert's knowledge' of music, but gave it up 'out of extreme abstinence, because he could not listen to singing without flutes and *pakhawaj* which was prohibited (*harām*).' (*M.A.*526–7).
9. *M.A.*532. The author emphasises that Aurangzeb was opposed to *qasida-goi* or adulatory verses. But he liked 'poems breathing moral advice.' Aurangzeb also gave up the practice of appointing *malik-ush-shuara* or poet laureates.
10. For details, see Nurul Ansari, *Farsi Adab bah—Ahd-i-Aurangzeb* (Indo-Persian Society, Delhi, 1969), pp. 7–8, 10–11.
11. For details, see *Bahar-i-Sukhan*, f.131a; *Shahjahan Namah*, iii, p. 29. Aurangzeb banished the dancing-girls from Delhi (*M.A.*314)—a step which had been officially taken by earlier rulers also.

    Jahandar Shah (1712), it is said, ordered the cutting of lofty trees in Delhi, including those on two banks of the Faiz canal (*Khush-hal* 389b, Irvine, i. 194).
12. Among the other famous houses at Delhi which set a standard, and are referred to by contemporaries were the houses of Mahabat Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Jafar Khan, Shaista Khan. Nuruddin Faruqi laments that Jahandar Shah allotted the *havelis* of Mahabat Khan and Ali Mardan Khan to the Kalawants, while Kokaltash Khan occupied the *haveli* of the late *wazir*, Jafar Khan. (*Jahandar Namah* ff.38b–39a.)
13. Jadunath Sarkar, *Aurangzib's Reign* (Calcutta, 1933), p. 144.
14. *M.A.* 538–9.
15. Niamat Khan Ali, Mulla Saifuddin Qazwini and Mirza Khalil were some of the poets and writers associated with her, because their works begin with the word '*zeb*', i.e. *Zaib-ul-Tafsir*, *Zaib-ul-Munshaat*, etc. (Nurul Ansari, *Farsi Adab*, pp. 10–11 and 98.
16. Ansari, *Farsi Adab*, pp. 94–104.
17. M. Sadiq, *History of Urdu Literature*, p. 62.
18. There were, of course, many exceptions. Thus Jafar Zatalli, who may be called the first poet of Urdu at the Mughal court, pokes fun at the *ulema* for their hypocrisy and jocularly addresses his complaints to *Zill-i-Shaitani* (shadow of Satan) a pun on the Emperor who was addressed as Shadow of God (*Zill-i-Allah*) (*Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, ed. Naim Ahmad (Aligarh, 1979), pp. 45–8.)
19. Yahya, I. O. Ethe' 409, *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, f.122b.
20. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughtah*, Bankipore MS, f.340a.
21. *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin*, f.63a.

22. House-born ones, i.e. those who were sons and descendants of former *mansabdars*.
23. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics*, p. 79.
24. This idea was subscribed to by both Hindu and Muslim thinkers. Thus, see Savitri Chandra, 'Indian Social Concepts in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Diogenes* (Paris, No.87), 1974, pp. 23–33.
25. *Jahandar Namah*, ff.39a, b. (I am grateful to Dr S.B.P. Nigam, Kurukshetra University for lending me his copy of the MS).
26. Kamwar 426; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 344. Pederasty was looked upon with contempt. In this connection, see the remarks of Jafar Zatalli, *Kulliyat*, pp. 194–5.
27. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Bib. Ind., p. 775.
28. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 394.
29. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics*, p. 176.
30. Cf. Naqvi, *Urban Centres*, p. 12.
31. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, tr. Beni Prasad, vol. ii, p. 273.
32. Works of this genre are to be found outside India in Persian and Turkish. In India, Masud bin Sad Salman (d. 1116) was perhaps the first who wrote *Shahr Ashob* followed by Amir Khusrau (d. 1324). According to a number of dictionaries, *Shahr Ashob* was a style of poetry in which there were light-hearted descriptions of the beauty of young boys in the various professions, and praise or disparagement of a city or its residents. These *Shahr Ashob* should not, however, be confused with a general complaint of the times (*shikayat-i-zamana*) in which these and other poets dilated upon their personal miseries, especially lack of employment or patronage, or grant of favours to incompetent persons and their rise, etc. In course of time, *Shahr Ashob* began to include within their framework social, economic, and political aspects of the decline and fall of cities (See Naim Ahmad, *Shahr Ashob ka Tahqiqi Matala* (Aligarh, 1979), pp. 19–25).
33. *Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, pp. 142–5.
34. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics*, pp. lii–lv, 268.
35. A typical example may be cited. At Delhi a Hindu businessman who had embraced Islam, reverted to Hinduism after some time. This was declared 'illegal' by the *ulema* of the city who pronounced a verdict of death against him. When appealed to, the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* declared conversion to be a personal matter, i.e. not connected with *sharia*. In the face of growing mass excitement against this ruling, Muhammad Shah quietly moved the Hindu to another city, and appeased the orthodox elements by removing the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* from his post. (Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, ref. lost).
36. Z. Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1729–48* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 394–5.
37. Thus, Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami (d.1725) who was a great scholar of *diniyat*, and was a disciple of S. Yasin Hamdi in *tasawwuf*, wrote a book called *Padmavat* and a dictionary, *Jawahar-ul-Kalam*, of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi. Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil knew Hindi well (Nurul Ansari, *Farsi Adab*, pp. 187, 230–1).

II DELHI IN 'TWILIGHT' AND TRANSITION

DELHI AND OTHER CITIES OF NORTH INDIA DURING THE 'TWILIGHT'

CHRISTOPHER BAYLY

Populous cities crammed with produce and thronged with merchants and learned men have always received praise from travellers and geographers in the Indo-Persian literary tradition. Yet there seems to be no single, all-embracing reason why large cities should exist in areas which have not experienced industrialization. The 'pre-industrial city' is a fickle concept and where it exists there is no evidence to suggest that it is either necessarily benign or 'parasitic' as a type. Cities are better seen as variable constructs of the social and economic organization of élite groups than as given entities which can be discussed and compared in isolation from the societies around them. This is particularly important in the case of eighteenth and nineteenth century India. The decline of the largest Mughal cities in the course of the eighteenth century has been put forward as the main plank in the argument that the century was one of unmitigated social and economic decline, a desperate weakening which terminated with the fatal illness of colonialism. The melancholy tales of European travellers, rhapsodising over decaying mosques and temples, and the cries of alarm of the Muslim literati of Delhi and Agra have given poignancy to this picture.

First, however, it is worth noting that the connection between the decay of large cities and an overall decline in urban population is far from obvious. There is, for instance, evidence to suggest that political change was redistributing town-dwellers to thriving new cities outside

This paper is based on late eighteenth century travellers' accounts; military route maps of the East India Company; the records of the Resident of Benaras; early British revenue and judicial records in Allahabad and other U.P. record rooms; translations of Persian historical and topographical works, and investigations of the family histories of leading merchant and gentry families in U.P. cities conducted between 1971 and 1976.

the traditional heartland of north Indian urban life. Where Delhi and Agra declined, centres of new dynasties such as Lucknow, Pune and Nagpur rose in their place. So that taking the continent as a whole, the number of people in large cities (roughly over 50,000) had not significantly diminished between 1700 and 1800. Alternatively, the percentage of the population living in larger cities may have declined, but there may have been a rapid growth of small market towns (*qasbahs*) and fixed bazars (*ganjs*) so that the percentage of the population living in centres with a population of more than 2,000 may have remained constant or actually increased during the century. Figures for the Gangetic plain are untrustworthy for the period, but one can point to a number of areas of exceptional small-town urbanization. There was, for instance, a rapid development of fortress market-centres in the areas of Jat and Rohilla conquest, and qualitative evidence that incoming merchant and service families from declining Mughal *qasbahs* accounted for part of the increment of urban population. Thus for instance, the decline of the town of Koil (Aligarh) after 1750 was almost exactly matched by the rise of the Jat lineage centre of Hatras. In rural Awadh too, there was a substantial increase in the vitality of small centres both where a powerful Rajput lineage was increasing its local dominance, as in Baiswara; and where Muslim military gentry were remitting the profits of service and plunder to their localities, as in the Hardoi district.

Next, it is important to bear in mind that the connection between the decay of large cities and economic decline is quite uncertain, and particularly so in India. T. C. Smith has shown, by contrast, that rapid economic growth in pre-industrial rural Japan led to a decline in large 'castle towns' while 'country places' where the artisan producers were face to face with their affluent rural buyers were flourishing. In India, the fate of large cities was equally tenuously linked to the pace of economic change. Here the famous 'putting out' system ensured that a great volume of artisan cloth production took place in dispersed villages where the weavers had the advantage of space, running water and rapid access to agricultural resources in case of famine. Country people bought and sold their own produce in periodic village markets or *haths*, while the special things that they needed from outside the local marketing system—salt, spices, iron for ploughs and cattle—often reached them through large country fairs at which there were transactions of great quantities, but from which no settled urban entities emerged. In the north–west of the

Gangetic region, for instance, one of the great annual market places, transacting three or four lakh rupees *per annum* in the eighteenth century, was the Hardwar religious fair, but the merchants who frequented it never established fixed *kothis* or agency houses there. Local increases in the total volume of agricultural production were not, therefore, rapidly or necessarily reflected in the growth of recognizably urban places. This would only occur when outside political power ensured that more and more produce was marketed in a specific place in order to provide cash for revenue payment. It is possible to imagine, therefore that modest agricultural growth might have persisted in a decentralized political system without giving rise to large towns.

Even when we move on to social and cultural life, the connection between the vitality of a civilization and its large towns cannot be assumed. True, both Hindu and Muslim writers imply that the provision of services by a large client population is a guarantee of an appropriate religious existence. Thus the city (*nagar*) for some Hindu theorists was where the system of castes reaches its most perfect expression and the greatest number of ritual specialists and *jajmans* are on hand for the protection of *dharma*. Similarly, for Muslims the city is the 'flower of earthly existence' because this is where the faithful can find the basis of social life—the mosque, running water for purity, learned *qazis* to settle disputes, and the Sultan to protect the *umma*. Yet these are not difficult requirements to fulfill. The elaboration of castes could be protected in any one of the small lineage centres which grew up in Rajput or Bhumihar lineage centres as clansmen became *rajas* and subjects. Muslim urban life could similarly be constructed in any one of the small *qasbah* towns which gained a tenuous hold on the soil of north India as gentry élites strengthened their hold on revenue rights after 1720. In many ways it was the *qasbah* rather than the large city which gave vitality to the Muslim tradition throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and provided a new level of Muslim leadership. From here came the holy men who entered the religious seminaries, the poets who moulded the Urdu language and the service families who congregated at the courts of the illustrious dynasties of Lucknow or Hyderabad. By the late eighteenth century the pattern of urban historical and religious scholarship which had been developed in regard to Baghdad or Isfahan was being applied to small places in the north Indian country-side such as Bilgram or Kakori whose famous warriors and Sufi saints

were eulogised with equal pride. So also the vitality which Hermann Goetz saw in eighteenth century India was very much alive in the small towns of Kangra or Malwa where painting survived and flourished or in the Jat lineage centres where bardic tales and religious epics were being woven into the beginnings of Hindi verse.

Survival and Decline in the Great Cities

When we come to consider the fate of Agra, Delhi or Lahore during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century we are heavily reliant on eye-witness reports and comments by European observers. It is particularly important, therefore, to distinguish between evidence on the fabric and morphology of the cities and evidence of their decline as social and economic entities. By the late eighteenth century Europeans had come to regard the repair of buildings as a direct manifestation of the health of civic life. When they paused before the public buildings of the upper Indian cities and dwell on their 'melancholy decay' they were indulging not only a European perception but also the type of romanticising of the past and of the decay of great empires which informs the sketches of William Hodges, for instance. For eighteenth century Indians, however, masonry and its repair had different and rather more limited cultural implications. Given the mobile, flexible nature of eighteenth century politics, fixed buildings were often undesirable. The founder of the Awadh dynasty, Saadat Khan remarked that he 'had no special fancy for masonry'; Mohammad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad forbade all but eunuchs to construct masonry buildings on the grounds that the fixed patrimonial bazar was an implicit act of rebellion, a token that a subject intended to withhold revenue and stand out against the Nawab's army. The apparent meanness and squalor of many eighteenth century cities did not necessarily reflect, then, the poverty of their inhabitants so much as special features of the pattern of consumption. Moreover, where areas of cities were in clear decline one must beware assuming that this reflected the elimination of urban wealth rather than its redistribution within urban economies. Travellers and Muslim literati often referred to the decline of mosques and shrines, but eighteenth century rulers who resumed earlier imperial *madad-i-maash* grants continued to create revenue-free grants for religious purposes on a large scale in different cities or in different quarters of the same cities. For instance, the decline of religious endowment in Jaunpur was directly

matched by the vast expenditure of the Nawabs of Awadh on Shia monuments and shrines in Lucknow and Fyzabad.

Another reason for the rapid decay of urban property in the Indian case was the pattern of inheritance in Hindu and Muslim law. When large *havelis* (palaces) were divided up among a large number of heirs and collaterals there was a cumulative problem of maintenance which often created the impression of urban collapse. Finally, the apparent shrinkage of city sites during the eighteenth century did not always reflect an equivalent decline in their population. Less stable political conditions tended to greater concentrations of population. The various fixed markets or *ganjs* which had existed outside the city proper in both Delhi and Agra before 1720 had largely disappeared before the end of the century. The total built-up area of Delhi appears to have dropped by over 50 percent, but only 30 percent of the old markets had been closed down. Many others appear to have been concentrated behind the town walls.

Next we must distinguish in ideal terms between the various levels of political and commercial activity that characterized eighteenth century north Indian cities. Too often, contemporary accounts and more recent histories have conflated together these levels so that a decline, or rerouting of long distance trade and distress amongst great merchant houses is taken to apply to the commercial economy as a whole. First then there was the dependent household economy of the ruler and great nobles. This was stable or volatile in sympathy with the political fortunes of the ruling group and responded directly to the link between revenue functions and princely consumption. When the Rohilla grandees were expelled from their domains in 1774, or when the Nawab of Awadh moved his court from Lucknow to Fyzabad many of the luxury traders, bankers and skilled artisans moved with it, causing dislocation and limited mercantile distress. Next, however, there was a level of inter-regional economic activity which was much more 'sticky' and independent of purely local political fluctuations. The merchants and entrepreneurs who worked the Ganga–Yamuna river trades or controlled the flow of essential commodities such as iron, salt and bullion, adapted their trade routes to prevailing political conditions. Yet there was a great toughness and resilience here. The inter-regional traders and bankers were among those groups which were significantly increasing their political status during the century, and the price and transport advantages gained by moving commodities through well established break-of-bulk centres

were so great that it proved more or less impossible to choke off most trade routes, however fierce the political levies and plunder on them. Finally, there was the level of artisan and commercial life which responded directly to the requirements of the surrounding countryside for a central place. If the volume and style of agricultural activity in the hinterland changed, the town's central functions might modify or decline even when its entrepôt or higher political functions remained unimpaired. Conversely, political functions might decline but the town might continue to be important as a central market and entrepôt place. The Weber thesis of the peripatetic, court-camp city still has much to recommend it. Rulers actively built up large parts of urban economies by patronage and protection; they did much more than simply tax an existing trade; but at the same time there were areas of urban economies which persisted unaltered by political flux.

The larger imperial cities of the Indo-Gangetic plain were clearly experiencing varying degrees of dislocation during the eighteenth century. But the only two major centres which disappeared completely from the map of nineteenth century Hindustan were those that simultaneously forfeited all their commercial and political functions in the context of local agricultural decline. The most dramatic example was the city of Korah–Jahanabad[1] which had once been a provincial capital in the middle *duab* and possessed one of the largest caravansarais in upper India. At the end of the seventeenth century this had been a 'wealthy and populous city'. Indeed on Rennell's map and in the surveys of the 1760s it still appears to have had one of the largest inhabited sites in the subcontinent, consonant with an urban population of at least 30,000, though the Jesuit Tieffenthaler who visited the place sometime in the 1750s reported signs of decay. The main reason for Korah's nearly complete disappearance in the next fifty years was the collapse of its entrepôt and central place functions. The decline of traffic, and in particular of regular imperial military traffic down the Grand Trunk Road reduced the city's importance as a stopping and provisioning place for travellers. The last major building constructed here appears to have been a bridge over the river Rind put up by a local *bania* some time in the 1770s. Imperial control in the lower *duab* had, however, weakened dramatically after 1750 when the whole region became a march between the emerging Nawabi of Awadh and the Maratha forces advancing north-east from Gwalior. The disposition of local political power also changed as the *chaudhri* of the local Rajput dominant clan, Rup Rai, began to assume the

status of raja. He stationed forces at his lineage centre of Ghazipur, about twenty miles from Korah, and forced local merchants to settle there under his protection. Nevertheless, the interesting point about Korah–Jahanabad is that its population never stabilized at a size appropriate for a typical *qasbah*, dwindling to a population of a few hundred in the 1830s. This collapse appears to have reflected the extreme instability of agriculture as a whole in the locality and the fragility of the city's persona as an agricultural market centre.

This part of the lower *duab* between Allahabad and Kanpur has a loamy soil which varies in richness. The tract adjoining the river Yamuna was the poorest. It was ravine-ridden, with a very low water-table and inhabited largely by communities of Rajput herdsmen. It is noteworthy that in later periods of rainfall instability as well as during the scarcities connected with the terrible 'Chalisa' famine of 1781–4, these communities gave trouble, plundering the more affluent areas inland. To the north of the central *duab*, cultivation was better with the water table nearer the surface. But the area was still crucially dependent on human investment. The Grand Trunk Road had once provided this; the policy of the Mughal provincial governors had been to stabilize the tract on either side of the road by building tanks and wells and growing large groves of mangoes and other fruit. But by the 1770s most of these works were in disrepair, at the very time when climatic conditions were becoming unfavourable. Patches of cultivation mentioned in the 1769 surveys almost exactly correspond to favourable natural features, but the immediate hinterland of Korah which had a rather low water-table, had no such advantages. The dilapidation of wells or their destruction by 'the flying enemy' meant the complete destruction of the high agriculture which had helped maintain the city. Captain Williamson, a contemporary observer, reckoned that between 30 and 40 percent of the total population fled or died during the famine of 1783 in this area. Those that returned from the more stable areas to the east returned not to Korah–Jahanabad but to growing centres such as Kanpur.

It is significant that the only other major town of the high Mughal period which dwindled to a mere village in the course of the eighteenth century was also situated in the lower *duab*. This was Kara–Shahzadpur which lay on the Ganga about ten miles west of Allahabad. The town's decline had begun as early as 1585 when the headquarters of the Mughal province had been moved to Allahabad and the nobility and service people began to desert it. Kara's remaining political

functions finally evaporated when the exiled Emperor left the city in 1772, but already by the 1750s its once proud Sayyid families were said to be in decline. Nevertheless, what destroyed Kara, like Korah–Jahanabad, was the simultaneous disappearance of its other urban functions. The cessation of trade down the mid-Ganga after 1750 affected Kara's river traffic, while the end of European and Mughal investment in local handicraft industries had dissipated the artisan population before 1820. Political problems and lack of artificial irrigation destroyed the high cash-crop farming which had once occupied Kara's home *pargana*, so that even its agricultural functions were split up among a number of small nearby centres.

Delhi and Agra: the Persistence of Urban Functions

The fate of the three great cities of the Mughal imperial triangle, Delhi, Agra and Lahore, has been most particularly the subject of romantic lament. It is even more important to separate the evidence of political and moral decline from that of economic collapse. All three cities had an important central role for their agricultural hinterlands. Agra's was particularly noteworthy because quick river traffic down the Yamuna to the central plains enhanced its importance for marketing farmers and small merchants. In the early nineteenth century observers noted that the city attracted such traffic even from the vicinity of Delhi. The ring of market villages and possible cotton marts strung around Agra on Rennell's map tends to support this assumption. During the 1780s and 1790s the Yamuna was temporarily closed to river traffic by the build-up of gravel banks in its course. This must have impeded Agra's long-distance trade in salt and grain, but the city still lay athwart the best crossing-point from Rajasthan into the plains. Agra's central role was also maintained by the relative stability of the farming land for about ten miles around the city. The south-western *parganas* were probably subject to gradual deterioration and the hinterland water table was falling, but a new input of irrigation during the French and Maratha period averted a more serious crisis of subsistence for the city. On the basis of this seventy square miles or so of surrounding cultivation, Agra city was probably able to feed a population of around 80,000 except in the worst years. Above this number the city was vulnerable. During the high Mughal period foodgrains were brought in large quantities from as far afield as northern Awadh or Bengal to feed a population which may have

been as much as 300,000 excluding the royal army. When the population climbed slowly above the 120,000 mark in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the city again suffered severe crises of subsistence in scarcity years and high prices in normal years.

As far as long-distance and international trade is concerned, Agra declined, but not absolutely. It lost the handling of Bayana indigo and piece goods bound for Surat and the south some time between 1730 and 1750; the closure of the European factories clearly led to unemployment among the many brokers and agents dependent on the Dutch and English. All the same, Agra was the point where Rajasthan salt and grain would naturally enter the plains of Hindustan. Only in exceptional years did the trade in these commodities die out completely. Insurance rates and charges simply adjusted to take account of unfavourable political or climatic conditions.

The only sector which appears to have declined completely was the nobility and the service classes immediately dependent on them. In this the city resembled Lahore but not Delhi. As early as 1740 the Dutch Company's factor at Surat was told that one third of the city's houses were empty. But the early maps and Archaeological Survey Reports suggest that this decline was concentrated in the aristocratic suburban quarters and the area lying between the Red Fort and the Taj Mahal. The commercial heart of the city fronting the river between Belanganj and the Fort appears to have remained in occupation. This decline appears then to have preceded the Jat and Maratha occupations. It probably represents an emigration to Delhi, Fyzabad, Hyderabad and other centres, and resulted from changed conditions of political power.

Along with the nobility parted or disappeared the courtly trader-bankers who served the nobles and the army. Compared with Benaras or Lucknow, there is remarkably little continuity in mercantile élites from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. The leading merchants of the city in 1810 were all newcomers from Rajasthan and east Panjab. Yet this flight of the old magnates may well have come quite late. Between 1750 and 1770 the nodal point in credit transactions by bankers between Bengal and Surat moved from Agra to Benaras. But it is during the political and economic crisis of 1780–3 that the Maratha newsletters continually report the flight of rich merchants whose subsistence was endangered by the simultaneous pressure of forced loan and acute scarcity. Some Agarwal family histories support this supposition. Though Agra's élites may have

suffered dramatically during these years, the place's natural military and commercial advantages rapidly re-asserted themselves. The Maratha and French rulers set about attracting merchants and others to the city after 1785. Agriculture recovered from the Chalisa due to the extensive provision of irrigation and the city was set for the modest boom which it experienced in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

In Delhi, the situation was somewhat different. Here the large, productive hinterland showed signs of fairly severe economic decline and the town's control over its hinterland was even more fragmented. It seems that the rich areas of commercial farming north and west of the city fell out of cultivation with the decline of the canal system and the famine of 1783 dealt a final blow. Warfare destroyed large areas of mango groves and other trees within fifty miles of the capital; bullocks and peasant labour were impressed for service in the army. Within the area which Delhi had once served as a central place there appears to have been a distinct growth of the nomadic, pastoral economy at the expense of settled agriculture. Gujar herdsmen penetrated the productive area which had once been irrigated by Firoz Shah's canal, and the influence of the Battis, a celebrated race of pastoralists and plunderers crept within seventy miles of the gates of the city. Ecological and political change reinforced each other so that by the end of the century a large majority of villages in the old Delhi dominion neither paid revenue nor sent their produce to the capital. In some areas like Sonepat and Ballabgarh the profits of good agriculture simply went into the pockets of Sikh or Jat magnates:

> The great lords [of Delhi] are helpless and impoverished. Their peasants raise two crops a year, but their lords see nothing of either, and their agents on the spot are virtual prisoners in the peasants' hands, like a peasant kept in his creditor's hands until he can pay his debt.[2]

But in the expanding pastoral areas the point is that the lands could no longer produce the agricultural surplus which had once sustained the satellite markets of imperial Delhi. Here, all the villages had become accustomed to contribute was

> the price of a horse or so, and a sixth of the property plundered by them. In all these villages cultivation was thought of and carried on only as a requisite for the food of the inhabitants; numerous herds of cattle were then, as now their chief support and riches.[3]

In west and central Asia, of course, large cities flourished in symbiosis

with pastoralists and nomads. But a speedy change in this sort of economy must have challenged the city's already weakening position in its domains. Whereas Marathas or Sikhs could have accommodated themselves to living off pastoralists by large-scale cattle rustling, city dwellers were in a less fortunate position. It is significant that before 1820 the new British rulers were attempting to recapture the social surplus of Haryana and 'Batti country' by reimposing a swingeing tax on the head of cattle which flourished in them.

Delhi's longer distance entrepôt trade may have been less disrupted than travellers' accounts suggest over these years. It was sustained above all by the trade to the north-west, Afghanistan and Central Asia in high value but low bulk goods such as dried fruits, shawls and drugs. Bulk trade such as in the Bengal and Patna rice which had once come up the river system to Agra and Delhi were more at risk than the 'luxury items' which could easily be rerouted over the northern mountains and would remain in demand among the still wealthy Islamic élites of north India. George Forster,[4] who travelled north from Delhi at the beginning of the 1790s, encountered four large caravans going to Delhi in the course of three months, and this was quite soon after the scarcities and political havoc of the late 1780s. His account reveals how lesser 'pedlar' merchants could attach themselves to the great caravans which were organized by the Muslim and Khattri merchants who worked the trade route which stretched as far up into central Asia as Astrakhan. Merchants who tried to take the route alone were evidently at risk from Sikh warbands and the petty hill kings. But the larger caravans had developed strong political relations with the hinterland rulers through whose domains they travelled. The Sikh *misldars* indeed actively patronised the Khattri merchants for by them they were supplied with weapons and fine cloths. In the mid-1790s moreover, the shawl trade through Amritsar and Delhi had begun to build up again, and this was rapidly becoming an important source of tax revenue for the emerging Sikh kingdoms. It is not surprising that Chandni Chawk and other bazars which dealt with the north-western trade were still considerable at the end of the century and 'greater than many another city'.

In contrast with Agra, Delhi's political functions also remained significant throughout the period. Even though the massive inflows of land-revenue had ceased before 1750, it was still important for aspiring north Indian rulers to have their *vakils* and agents in the imperial centre. The Archaeological Survey's 'List of Hindu and

Muhammadan monuments of Delhi' and Sayyid Ahmad's *Asar us Sanadid* gives us a fascinating glimpse of building in the city during the 'twilight' and though the volume had fallen off rapidly after 1740, it had by no means ceased. Prominent structures started between 1780 and 1800 were associated with local agents of the Marathas and the East India Company. They complemented the substantial residences in the capital put up by the Bangash of Farrukhabad and the Awadh dynasty since 1740.

Shifts in Urban Dominance

The eighteenth century was not a period of universal decline and desolation for Delhi and Agra; there remained flourishing sectors in both cities which could be rapidly revitalized by the changes associated with the establishment of British rule. Another way of looking at the century, however, would be to see its political events as important turning points in the long process by which economic and cultural dominance in Delhi and Agra passed from a predominantly Muslim gentry to a predominantly Hindu commercial and professional group. This change predated the decline of the Mughals in origin and is by no means completed today. The pace of the transformation was more rapid in Agra than in Delhi.

The Mughal nobility and service classes in Delhi survived the bad years after the death of Najaf Khan by emigrating to Lucknow or Hyderabad, or by seeking service with the Marathas and the British. With the end of open warfare in the region after 1806, those that survived were able to recover in part the land rights that they had formerly held between Shahdara and Ghaziabad to the west. Rising land values within and outside the city and stable *malikana* or pensions held by the court and some of the nobility provided the economic basis for a 'silver age' revival associated with circles like that of Zakaullah. In Agra much less of the Mughal ruling class survived. The old *umrah* quarter had declined and the *ganjs* associated with Mughal military settlements were completely deserted. Three prominent families remained:[5] the *qazi* family of Mohamad Bakar Ali; that of Amir Ali Shah and Mirza Ghulam Ali. These were associated with the old political structure of the city and its remaining religious endowments; so that the influence of the families of these notables with the still substantial Muslim population of the central quarters inclined the incoming Jats, Marathas and eventually the

British to do what they could to sustain them. Yet the earlier Muslim dominance in the city passed largely to Jat families, the most energetic group in the hinterland. A substantial number of buildings and attached marts constructed after 1805 were the property of the Jat Rajas of Bharatpur, Hatras and Mursan or their *vakils*. The British commissioner's office in the city had become the political centre of the locality and it was necessary for these notables to have a presence there. By 1841, the transformation had proceeded quite far:

> At Delhi there is a large, intelligent, haughty but indigent Mahomedan population . . . Agra, on the contrary is a commercial town of modern growth. The respectable Mahomedans had been expelled from it by the Jats and Mahrattahs before we acquired the country, and the persons who have since settled here have come for the purposes of trade, or have been the natural dependents of the large military and civil station.[6]

The great Muslim families of Agra had declined more rapidly than those of Delhi because, first, they were unable to maintain even that degree of control over the rental income of the hinterland that was possible to the east of the imperial capital, and second, because it was the notion of 'imperial blood' that was of consequence in eighteenth century politics. Agra's distinguished history as an imperial centre was of little advantage to it.

Yet beneath the level of the élites the pace of change may not have been markedly different in the two centres. In part this was because the impact of Mughal-style courtly consumption remained long after the nobility itself had disappeared. The Jat and Maratha élites who usurped the place of the Muslim gentry in the countryside quite rapidly took up a conspicuous 'Moghlai' style of consumption, and this helps explain why such a large part of Agra's population (perhaps as much as 25 percent) remained Muslim artisans producing goods and services very similar to those which had been in demand amongst the old *umrah*.[7] Both Delhi and Agra supported throughout the nineteenth century large numbers of workers in gold and silver brocaded fabrics of the style known as *kalabatun*. In Agra substantial numbers of people were also involved in the production and sale of the particular style of *pietra dura* and inlaid work associated with the Shahjahani monuments of the city, besides famous industries for *unani* drugs, saddlery, rosewater and luxurious sweetmeats.[8] Whereas the fine muslins of Dacca and Murshidabad had become dependent on foreign demand and up-market goods for the Mughal

courts, Agra and Delhi retained many small-scale, diversified artisan industries which adjusted to the demand from the nineteenth-century princely states. While the stability of both north Indian cities during the first half of the nineteenth century can in part be attributed to income from expanding bulk trades such as cotton, indigo and salt, the contribution to employment of the older artisan industries must not be underestimated.

The pace of change amongst mercantile groups in Delhi and Agra may not have been so different as it appears if we concentrate on the chief commercial houses. The initial impression is that there was very little continuity in pre-1750 commercial élites in Agra as compared with Benaras or even Delhi. Certainly the dominant houses of the early nineteenth century in the city were newcomers from east Panjab, Narnul, or the Jat and Rajput states who made quick fortunes during the cotton boom of the years 1814–27. But the pace of change in the smaller bazars was much slower and while the 'tall poppies' who had served the Mughals as court bankers may have been lopped off, there was much more continuity among small traders. The late Mughal Emperors had been notably served by Khattri merchants (who claimed mythic descent from the great Todar Mal). It is recorded that Aurangzeb had given the brokerage right (*dalali*) in all Agra's bazars to the Khattris, and nineteenth century observers claimed that the community still retained this right. The most prominent Khattris in the city at the present time appear to be residents of Meithan *mohalla* who moved into the city as government service people in the 1830s and 1840s as the British administrative presence grew. But there are pockets of Khattris involved in the cloth and embroidery trades of the Kinari bazar area who appear to have been much older residents of the city. Similarly, the Jains of Seb ka Bazar and the surrounding *mohallas* are associated with shrines that seem to date from before the nineteenth century, and they positively state that they are ancient residents of the city. The invasion of Vaishnavite Maheshwaris and Agarwals from Rajasthan appears to have been a later phenomenon.[9]

If the transition was not as abrupt as it might appear in Agra, the slow modification of the cultural and commercial base of Delhi may well have proceeded slowly under the surface in the time of the late Mughal élites. Jain jewellers and merchants from Panjab and Rajasthan, and particularly from the town of Bhewani appear to have established a stronghold in Delhi before 1750. This drift into the city from the commercial towns of the hinterland appears to have continued

unabated during the late eighteenth century. Jain commercial people settled in the *mohallas* in and around the Jama Masjid during the 1750s and 1780s and there is a strong presumption that the city retained some degree of security by comparison with its western hinterland. Before 1800, moreover, the community in Delhi had begun a massive programme of building which is supposed to have led to the construction of temples and rest-houses to the cost of 25 lakh rupees over the next quarter-century. If the capital offered these people trade and a degree of protection, it also offered them association with one of the most important sectarian centres of Jainism (*bhatakaras*) in north India. Equally, there was a continuing slow drift into the city of Khattri commercial people from east Panjab. Associated initially with the salt and cloth trades, small firms from this community, like the ancestors of Chuna Mal Saligram of Chandni Chawk, had already begun to buy up urban property in the main thoroughfares of the city from indebted Mughal aristocracy long before the Great Rebellion gave another severe jolt to Muslim urban dominance.

Even during periods of decentralization in India in recent centuries, revenue has been paid in cash. So also religious and cultural patterns have retained an integrity throughout the subcontinent. Cities, therefore, though not dominant, have always proved tough and resilient. The antithesis between thriving Mughal urban life and the decay of the eighteenth century may in part be an illusion. What had occurred was more like a complex redistribution of a fixed amount of 'urban material' across the countryside. There was, however, under the surface of these political movements a slower moving change by which a Hindu hinterland of commercial agriculture asserted itself over the military, aristocratic and Islamic colonies which had been planted in its midst. But the eighteenth century was only one episode in this transformation.

NOTES

1. Route maps 1760s and '70s, Orme MSs, India Office Library; *Fatehpur District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1908); for Kara, Fida Hussain, 'Tarikh-i-Kara', MSs Mohulla Bazaar, Kara; *Allahabad District Gazeteer*, Kara article.

2. R. Russell and K. Islam, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* (London, 1969), p. 65.
3. T. Fortescue, 'Revenue System of the Delhi Territories', *Selections from Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807–57* (Calcutta, 1922), p. 252.
4. G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India* (London, 1798), vol. I, p. 219.
5. Notes on 'respectable natives' of Agra, Magistrate of Agra to Government NWP, 28 February 1843, Agra Judicial, vol. 10, U.P. Central Record Room, Allahabad.
6. Minute by J. Thomson, 7 May 1841, in J. A. Richey (ed.), *Selections From Educational Records*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1922), p. 252.
7. Offg. Deputy Collector Govt Customs Agra, to Offg. Commissioner, 1 January 1835, Agra Customs, vol. 8.
8. Histories of artisan industries in Agra, Collector Agra to Commissioner, 11 May 1850, Agra Judicial, vol. 8.
9. Family histories from Sri P. C. Maheshwari, Ram Bakhsh, Moti Katra Agra.

DELHI AND ITS HINTERLAND
The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

NARAYANI GUPTA

> The dignified isolation of cantonments and government perambokes, although in sharp contrast to the congested confusion of old bazaar towns, are ... examples of a lapse in contemporary planning. ...
>
> On the one hand the planner must strive to maintain the populous and gregarious nature of Indian life in village and town and yet abate its congestion and, at the same time, to lead more dwellings into garden villages without the town and provide more civil developments within. On the other hand, he must mitigate the Crusoe-like individualism of the scattered and formless bungalow compounds and endeavour to build them up into coherent communities.[1]

At a very significant moment, Geddes, who had just come out to India, diagnosed a malaise and suggested remedies. It was a significant moment because a few years previously the first Improvement Trusts and some town-planning measures had been enacted for Indian towns. Had his suggestions been heeded, a major change might have occurred in urban policy, and the barriers between the races become less rigid. Delhi was a seventeenth-century town, which in the nineteenth century had acquired a major railway suburb and an extensive Civil Lines, and, at the time Geddes wrote, its future was already fettered by a political decision made in 1911.

There is little information about the historical relationship of Indian towns to their hinterlands. Questions which economists and sociologists ask about the hinterlands of towns in developing societies can be projected backwards for earlier periods. This will enable us to see continuities or otherwise between colonial and pre-colonial eras, between the post-railway years and the centuries before. Questions arise relating to the cultural colonization of the rural hinterland by the urban complex, the employment opportunities created by the

town for the hinterland and the effect of the colonial economy on the economic and political interrelations among groups of urban communities.

Though we are aware of the long history of urban settlements in the Delhi area, between Mehrauli and the Yamuna, we lack even a partial account of the relationships of these to the region. Also, in the last two centuries, the political status of Delhi has changed more frequently than that of any other Indian town or city. The Delhi Subah of the Mughals included the tract of Haryana west of the Yamuna, and the upper *duāb* and Rohilkhand to the east. After the British conquest in 1803 it was made part of the North-Western Provinces, in which Delhi District included the *tahsil* of Delhi, part of Ballabgarh and part of Rohtak. The following table will indicate the different designations of the Delhi region at different points of time, and its extent:

Year	*Title*	*Area*	*No. of villages included*
1638	Delhi Province	601,42,375 *bighas*	45,088 villages
1803	Delhi District		600 'deserted villages'
1819	Delhi Territory divided into districts, and Delhi District subdivided into 'Northern' and 'Southern' parganas		
1844	Delhi District	604 sq. miles	412 villages (of which 346 belonged to government)
1848–53	193 sq. miles of Eastern Parganah (east of Yamuna) added to Delhi District		
1880	Delhi Tehsil	425 sq. miles	288 villages (of which 30 belonged to government)
1912	Delhi Province	520 sq. miles (later 593)	307 villages
1952	Delhi State	577 sq. miles	304 villages and 10 towns
1981	Delhi State	573 sq. miles	

By 'hinterland' we do not refer to any of these administrative units but to an area roughly seven miles in radius around Shahjahanabad, the city built by the Emperor Shahjahan in the seventeenth century.

Local as well as regional geography determined the location of the many towns built in Delhi over many centuries. The politically and

economically strategic trunk road (important both for rulers moving into India from the north-west and for a conqueror moving up the Ganga from Bengal) crossed the Yamuna at Delhi. The city was a major entrepôt between the *duāb*, Panjab and Rajasthan from the twelfth century, and this function was reinforced with the construction of the railways in the 1860s. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Delhi was important for the East India Company as a frontier post. That Delhi was an important distributing centre for the region is shown by the fact that the roads linking the city with neighbouring towns were seen to be good in 1827,[2] suggesting past excellence rather than British improvements. There was a high volume of pack animal traffic daily between the city and trans-Yamuna Ghaziabad before the railway line was built.[3] In the 1870s, by which time the roads were an adjunct to the railway terminus, the roads from Delhi to Gurgaon in the south, to Rohtak in the west, to Karnal in the north and Mathura in the east were all metalled. There were many elements of continuity with the past. The volume of traffic was not heavy, with one camel-cart plying on these roads every day.[4] Transportation of grain from neighbouring villages to the city was by means of very large bullock-carts, drawn by teams of six oxen.[5] Timber was brought to the city by barge on the canal from the Mughal period till the early years of the present century.[6]

The Yamuna, the Ridge, and the Upper Yamuna Canal defined Delhi's hinterland. The land sloped from north to south. There was a great variety of physical features in the Delhi area, and consequently an equally wide variety in the qualities of the soil. The land around Shahjahanabad fell into four categories.[7] The old bed of the river north and south of the city, well-irrigated and fertile, was called *khadar*. The south and west, the uplands through which the canal passed, was *banjar* and *khandrat*. The term Khandrat Kalan was an evocative one—the Great Ruins, where people from Shahjahanabad dug perseveringly in the hope of turning up a hoard of coins.[8] The hilly area of the western ridge, sandy and dry, was termed *kohi*, and in the 1840s accounted for one-third of the Delhi District being considered uncultivable. The land to the north around the Najafgarh Jheel, low-lying and water-logged, was *dabar*. Quite apart from the vagaries of the river and the canal, these areas in the nineteenth century underwent many modifications in land-use patterns because of the changing nature of political control and political policy.

Fertility was also affected by the course of the river. There were

three means of irrigation—the river, which was not always reliable; wells, some of which were brackish; and, from the reign of Feroze Tughlak, if not earlier, a canal (the ancestor of the Western Yamuna Canal) from the Yamuna at Karnal. This was repaired during Akbar's rule, and reopened or realigned by Ali Mardan Khan in Shahjahan's reign, to irrigate agrarian land, to provide the hunting-lodges with water, and also the city.[9] Sujan Rai in the late seventeenth century said that the canal 'conferred benefits upon the cultivation of many *parganas* and irrigated the gardens near the Capital.'[10] Its chief purpose seems to have been the latter, with irrigation being a side benefit. But Francklin who saw it in 1793, spoke of it 'fertilizing . . . a tract of more than 90 miles in length'.[11] In the eighteenth century, at least, it was also used for transportation and for working mills. The revenue from the canal considerably enriched the person to whom it was farmed out, Nawab Safdar Jang being said to have earned twenty-five lakhs from it. (A sceptical British official commented that 'the amount of the revenue . . . must be deemed fabulous'.)[12]

After the 1770s the canal remained largely neglected for half a century. After the British conquest, tales about the riches to be had from the canal led at least two enterprising individuals to put forward proposals beneficial to themselves and to the government. An engineer, Mercer, offered to open up the canal at his own expense provided the income for twenty years were given to him.[13] Kishen Lal, the *diwan* of the Nawab of Jhajjar, offered to drain the Najafgarh Jheel [the hollow 52 square miles into which the Western Yamuna Canal flowed] at a cost of Rs 70,000 if he were given half the profits anticipated when the surrounding area became more fertile.[14] In both cases the government was too astute—'a work so dignified, so popular and so beneficial', it was decided, should not be left to stray individuals. The officials were also alive to the commercial possibilities of the canal. Three small mills for grinding flour by water-power were erected in Delhi. When these were found successful, larger mills were set up at government expense. It was estimated that the value of the produce of flour would be about Rs 30,000 a year. Saw mills and oil and sugarcane mills were also planned, since much timber was exported from Delhi to north-western India, and sugarcane cultivation was increasing with the renewal of canal irrigation.[15] There is no indication that these last plans were ever carried out.

The repeated siting of towns in the Delhi area was the reason for the pattern of land-use there: 'a close cultivation and . . . the sinking of many wells, to cope with the demand for grain, fodder and garden crops.'[16] The ground around Delhi was excellent where it was not neglected, said Thevenot, adding that in many parts it was.[17] Most of what was produced in the Delhi region went to feed the city, and a small portion could be regarded as having been a commercial investment. When Bernier lived in Delhi, the neighbouring countryside was very fertile, yielding corn, millet, pulses, rice and indigo.[18] Wheat and tobacco were grown in the *khandrat*, irrigated by wells. The land under wheat increased when the embankments made in the *kohi* tract in the 1880s led to its cultivation. All the foodgrains were consumed in the city. The *gur* from sugarcane likewise was bought by the city.[19]

In the agricultural land to the south, fertility was increased from the 1880s by a realignment of the Western Yamuna Canal, and by the regular trenching of fields.[20] As a result, by the early years of the present century, Bernier's picture was again recognizable, with the difference that the produce of the re-invigorated Firozabad and *khandrat* was entirely horticultural, vegetables being grown for the increasing population of the city. In the 1920s, wheat cultivation increased by as much as 30 percent but essentially the area remained a horticultural one.[21] Other needs of the city which were met from the adjacent countryside were *khoa* (concentrated milk for making sweetmeats) from as far as the Qutb and Serai Ruhela, where the producer had a monopoly of this item; *dhak* leaves for making disposable plates, tamarisk for baskets, brushwood and cowdung cakes for fuel. From the city the farmer bought cloth, salt and iron implements.[22] The neighbouring *qasbas* were Sonepat, Narela, Najafgarh, Mehrauli, Faridabad and Ballabgarh, whence traders transmitted their produce to the central market at Delhi.[23]

That fertile land was quick to recover even after major political devastations was borne out by the fact that route maps of the 1760s and 1790s showed Delhi (and Agra and Allahabad) to have been surrounded by eight to twelve kilometres of high cultivation.[24] In 1819 John Lawrence had a graphic description of 'riding for miles as through a highly cultivated garden.'[25]

Rice and indigo cultivation tapered off in the nineteenth century. Cotton cultivation south and south-west of the city was tried under official encouragement in the 1820s (part of the raw cotton boom

from the 1780s to the 1820s) and again in the years of the American Civil War, to decline permanently from the 1870s as the railways brought cotton from longer distances into the town.[26]

Since it prevented erosion, the Ridge must have been a factor in the choice of the site of Shahjahanabad. Its terrain discouraged cultivation. The area between the western city wall and the Dehlia Nallah was known as Jahan-numa (there is no evidence for the antiquity of this name—one possibility is that this was the name given to Ferozeshah Tughlak's hunting lodge on the Ridge, as Jahan-panah was his hunting lodge near Siri). Shahjahan was said to have given 2,700 *bighas* (562 acres) to a grain dealer, Prahlad (who called his domain Chandrawal) and another 2,000 *bighas* (416 acres) to Sukh Ram Jat and Mir Ali (who called their land Banskauli, within which was contained the *qasba* of Paharganj, anterior to Shahjahanabad).[27] Here, in the nineteenth century, lived the Gujars who provided milk to the city, and who grazed the flocks of cattle owned by the city butchers on a share-profit basis. The great increase in the demand for arable land near the city was caused by the increase in the number of goats from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, indicating the growing consumption of meat in the city, and marking a change in food habits.[28] In Paharganj lived the *chamars* and the *renghars*, who needed running water for their tanning and dyeing, as well as ice-makers.

The Mughal town achieved an ecological balance by swaddling a densely-populated area with large expanses of carefully-tended woodland (cf. Geddes' phrase, 'to lead . . . dwellings into garden villages without the town'). To the north-west of the city, the canal had over the decades gradually deprived the soil of much of its original richness by impregnating it with soda. But the land use here, till the close of the nineteenth century, continued an old pattern. Along the Grand Trunk Road lay the 'garden village of Sadhaura Kalan'[29] containing the extensive gardens and orchards laid out by Begum Roshanara, linking Shahjahanabad to the township that lay adjacent, Mughalpura ('nearly three miles in length', according to Francklin in 1793)[30] where was located the big wholesale vegetable market (Sabzi Mandi), surrounded by rich orchards. A visitor in 1827 spoke of 'the verdure of the forests surrounding [Shahjahanabad]' as seen from Purana Qila.[31] Other than this, there is no evidence of forests south of the city, but to the north-west they extended in an area for over two miles. It has been stated that there was extensive

deforestation in the Delhi–Agra region in the high Mughal period,[32] and we know of the whim of a Jahandar Shah who ordered the trees on the road between the palace and the hunting lodge at Jahan-numa (i.e., the Grand Trunk Road) to be cut down.[33] This occurred again. An official in the 1830s confessed that the forests in the Delhi District had been 'nearly destroyed from indiscriminate cutting, since they fell under our authority; any one is allowed to cut what he pleases, and where he pleases, on payment of a merely nominal duty, and the whole country resorts here for supplies. Formerly it was not so.'[34]

Vandalism resulted from a more deliberate policy when in 1828 the cantonment was moved to Majnun ka Tila below a spur of the Ridge near the river north of the city. The tamarinds and cedars planted by Shahjahan were cut and so were the mango trees lining the road to the north when a new road was built from the cantonment to Kashmeri Gate.[35] After 1858, the orchards of Tis Hazari Bagh were felled to provide a shooting range, as the fruit trees of the adjacent Qudsia Bagh had been cut by the besieging British troops in 1857. From the late 1870s, when the Civil Station north of the Qudsia and as far as the Ridge became a permanent British enclave, the barren Ridge was afforested by making irrigation embankments, canal water was extensively provided to the bungalows' huge compounds, and the Municipality was made to spend as much as it could spare on the upkeep of the sixty-seven acres of the Qudsia and Jafar Khan Gardens, and the 158 acres of the Roshanara. As against this, much levelling of ground and felling of trees was also done in the 1870s in the lush agricultural area north-east of the Civil Lines, where the three durbars were held, so that this was described in 1912 as the only extensively barren area in the Delhi *tahsil*.[36] Amends were to be made in a different area—the south—when New Delhi was planned. 'Imperial Delhi will be in the main a sea of foliage,'[37] a plan so well-executed than the very climate of Delhi changed as a result.

In periods of political security in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the inhabitants of Shahjahanabad were not confined to the walled city. Bernier located the 'dwellings of the *omrahs*' as being 'mostly on the banks of the river and in the suburbs . . . yet scattered in every direction'. He went on to speak of 'two or three small suburbs . . . interspersed with extensive gardens and open spaces'.[38] The remains of this were noticed by Fortescue in the 1820s. 'Brick-built towns and villages, numerous stone edifices of ornament and worship; spacious walled gardens; costly and airy pleasure houses; the

expensive and lasting masonry of deep wells, reservoirs and lengthened conduits; large, safe and convenient *surraes* with the *coss-minars* for the accommodation and ease of travellers and, above all, perhaps, the bold and stupendous undertaking of the several grand acqueducts which fertilized many thousands of *beegahs*, brought crores into the public treasury—these are amongst the many irrefrangable demonstrations of former abundance, population, security, wealth and happiness.'[39] Contrast this with the bald, but equally telling, picture of an observer in 1776: 'The suburbs . . . are now a heap of ruins, a resort of wild beasts.'[40] From the mid-eighteenth century it appears that the people of Shahjahanabad chiefly lived within the walls of the city but in times of peace frequented the country-houses, hunting-lodges and gardens in the neighbourhood. Shalimar Gardens, seven miles north of Kashmiri Gate, Serai Sita Ram six miles west of Lahore Gate ('In the great days, perhaps the Hampstead or Putney of the great capital'),[41] Qutb and Mehrauli to the south and Patparganj to the east, across the river (the *duāb* canal from Saharanpur passed through the grounds of a royal preserve before rejoining the Yamuna opposite the city), these marked the extent of the townsman's hinterland. The *sarais* round the city—the inner ring of Sita Ram's, Hafiz Banna's, the Idgah, the one used by the British as the Jail, then the outer ones of Arab Sarai, Sheikh Sarai, Yusuf Sarai, Badarpur and Badli, indicated a large traffic of pilgrims and traders. (Seven miles was the average distance a man could travel with a cart-load of goods in a day, as is seen by the location of *sarais* in different parts of India.)

Fortescue in his report in 1820 wrote of fifty-two bazars and thirty-six *mandis* having existed outside the walls of Delhi. With bazars and the Idgah to the west, gardens and country houses north, south and east, with populous Paharganj and Mughalpura beyond the walls, the Fort and the city appear as two inner walls of defence, with much of the activities of the inhabitants—trade, recreation and cultivation—taking place in a large area beyond. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many of the dwellers beyond the walls retreated within. But in the subsequent years, there was again a growth of the urban population of the suburbs. A Census of the suburbs in 1847, at the high point of the 'British Peace', listed thirteen pockets of population outside the city walls, of which only three—Mughalpura and Sabzi Mandi (adjacent to each other) and Jaisinghpura, had populations of cultivators—261, 371 and 327

respectively; but as against this the same suburbs' non-cultivator population was 2,298, 3,200 and 1,030. The other suburbs were Kishenganj, Trevelyanganj, Teliwara, Shidipura, Pahari Dhiraj, Sarai Idgah and Kadam Sharif, all in Jahan-numa; Banskauli, Paharganj and Rakabganj. The total number of agriculturists in the suburbs was 1,204, the non-cultivators 21,098. The 'castes' which were in a majority were Sheikhs and Baniahs. The former were numerous in Sabzi Mandi and, taken with the evidence of the length of tenure there, it shows Sabzi Mandi–Mughalpura to have been a considerable township.[42]

The ecological balance of woodland and habitation had another equally sane facet—the policy of keeping the walled city free of activities that involved heavy traffic and numerous vehicles. Rejoicing and ritual took the inhabitants out of the city at specified times. Every week there were wrestling matches in Jahan-numa, and *melas* on the banks of the Yamuna.[43] But the more elaborate activities took the inhabitants further—to the small *qasbas* of Nizampur, Indraprastha, Mehrauli and Jaisinghpura. Indraprastha and Mehrauli had a population of over 3,000 in the 1880s. On these townships were billeted large populations during certain festivities. Since Mughal times that attendance had been bi-communal. A feature of the fairs in the Delhi District was that, in contrast with most Indian fairs, they were not occasions for commercial transactions, but only for social and religious activities.[44]

In the territory of the Raja of Ballabgarh lay Mehrauli, where every autumn was held the *Gulfaroshan*, the festival of the flower sellers, a syncretic festival linked with a Hindu temple and a Muslim *dargah*, which had originated in the 1720s. In the 1820s this attracted a crowd of 100,000 (from Delhi, Ballabgarh, Gurgaon and from Faridabad); this number dwindled to 30,000 by the 1900s[45]—perhaps to be explained in terms of the rival attraction of more parochial and para-political cults. Before 1857, the Mughal Emperor and the Raja of Ballabgarh were eager to contribute to improving the roads and bridges between Delhi and Mehrauli.[46] The way to Mehrauli was through the estate of the King of Awadh, where, at Safdarjang's *Madrassa*, were held the Mohurrum celebrations and the *Chharion ka Mela*, which attracted a few thousand visitors from the city.

To the south-east, Humayun's tomb was the venue for the

celebrations of Mohurrum and Basant (another syncretic festival like the *Gulfaroshan*) where the royal princes were the chief guests. The *urs* was held twice a year at Nizamuddin Auliya's shrine in Nizampur, and attracted over two thousand visitors from the city and elsewhere. Individuals made an earning out of the *tehbazari* rights at stalls put up for the fair—Nawab Hamid Ali Khan of Kashmiri Gate was one such.[47]

The Id celebrations took the Muslims, as prescribed by Quranic decree, out of the city to the Idgah on the western Ridge. Large numbers of people took part in the major Ram Lila at Shahji's Tank outside Ajmeri Gate. A separate and smaller Ram Lila was held in the cantonment by the soldiers who were non-Delhi *purbiyas* (easterners). Every Tuesday many Hindus went to the Hanuman Mandir Fair at Jaisinghpura. Also in Jaisinghpura, in the villages of Talkatora was the Jain temple which was built by the minister of Raja Jai Singh in 1724. (Later generations of Jains, in the early nineteenth century, built the other temples at Patparganj and Shahdara, an index to the Marwari movement eastward.)[48] This was the focus of the annual *Rathjatra* procession from the city which attracted thousands of visitors from beyond Delhi. Fairs were held twice a year at the temple of Kalkaji, which had been built by Akbar's minister, Kedarnath. In the pre-1857 decades, about twenty-five *raths* carrying visitors from the palace were a common sight. At the turn of the century, when rivalry between the Sanatanists and the Arya Samajists in Delhi was at its height, the Bharatiya Mahamandal held a show of strength at the Kalkaji temple, with many visitors specially brought from Rajasthan, the North-Western Provinces and Kashmir, for whom carriages had to be requisitioned from Gurgaon and Karnal.[49]

In Mughal times, these festivities afforded the villagers near the city a sight of their ruler, something their successors sought to emulate when they arranged the Durbar ceremonies not only in the palace (as heirs of the Mughals) but also in the Durbar area, near their township, the Civil Lines. But there was a great divide between the town-dweller and the villagers, a barrier created by the city wall and the city language. The lack of family or clan links between the city and its hinterland meant that on many occasions a calamity for one was an opportunity for the other. The term 'criminal tribe' under which the British officials subsumed the Gujars and Mewatis echoed the Delhiwala's sense of unease when confronted with these neighbouring inhabitants. (In 1869 a drummer in Chandni Chawk warned

the citizens that 350 Gujars and Mewatis were at large—an obvious reference to the labourers working on the railways.)[50]

Shahjahanabad had been built on land which belonged to the emperor—*Mulk-e-Delhi*, south of Salimgarh. After the British conquest, when a settlement law was enacted for the districts of western North-Western Provinces, this did not cover Delhi and the rest of the conquered territory which lay west of the Yamuna, all of which was exempted because their revenue was required for the support of the Mughal emperor.[51] When the first survey of the Delhi District was done in 1844, 346 of the 412 villages were recorded as belonging to the government, twenty-four the personal property of the Emperor, five the personal property of the King of Awadh, and twenty-seven given as life *jagirs* and ten as perpetual *jagirs*.[52] In other words, the crisis of the eighteenth century had not led to an indiscriminate donating of *khalisa* land near the city in the form of *jagirs*. But it is significant that a high proportion (124 of 346) of government villages were owned by *zamindars*—the explanation being that rich men from the city had appropriated these villages because of their proximity to the city or because they were deserted. The destruction of all the pre-1857 records of the Delhi Collectorate means that we are not able to specify the owners. The pattern of tenancy was of tenants-at-will, occupancy tenants and tenants with *sardarakhti* rights (a system by which a tenant could not be ejected as long as he kept the land afforested). The trees on roads and canals, however, were the property of the government. The rights of *sardarakhti* continued to be respected by the British.

Before Delhi District was assessed for revenue at the end of the 1830s, four large estates were carved out by individual Englishmen, encircling the city in a wide arc from the Yamuna to the Lahore Gate, and stretching to the Ridge. These were the properties of David Ochterlony, William Fraser, Thomas Metcalfe and Charles Trevelyan. The estate of Colonel Skinner, who owned houses in Delhi, was further north, near Karnal.

Ochterlony's estate, four miles north of the city, was called Mubarak Bagh, after one of his *begums*. William Fraser bought an estate of 1692 *bighas*, extending from Kabul Gate to the spine of the northern Ridge. Here he built a large house. He bought up the area in piecemeal fashion from local *zamindars* in 1823–4. The estate, with

an additional 323 *bighas*, was bought by Raja Hindu Rao Ghatke, a relative of Madhavrao Scindia, who decided to settle in Delhi. Although the estate was assessed for revenue, he was allowed to retain it free of rent, when he appealed to the magistrate to act according to 'those English principles . . . by which that nation is so highly characterised.' We shall probably never be enlightened about his mysterious reference to 'the means and motives under which [he] resigned the comforts of [his] home and country, and came and sojourned among the European community of Delhi.'[53]

Metcalfe's estate, like that of Ochterlony, was bought from the villagers of Chandrawal, a *mauza* which obviously was of considerable extent at this time, stretching from the Ridge to the Yamuna. Metcalfe's acquisition of the 187 acres which formed his estate appears to have been somewhat arbitrary. Here he built the beautiful house which was to be described as the most expensive in the North-Western Provinces.[54] The Gujar villagers nursed their resentment in helpless silence till 1857 afforded them an opportunity to get their own back. The sack of Metcalfe House was tragic but understandable—not a random shot by members of a 'criminal tribe' but the avenging of a wrong. For this they paid heavily when in 1858 their village was confiscated and let out as grazing lands, and subsequently sold as plots for bungalows. When the Civil Station houses were built in the 1860s, no specific area was acquired, but most of the official bungalows were in Chandrawal. The Gujars consoled themselves by levying their own brand of tax—the right to be employed as *chowkidars* by the Civil Station inhabitants with the clear understanding that the houses would be robbed if they were dismissed. The villagers had to move on again when it was decided in the 1860s that the waterworks would be located in Chandrawal, and they were given territory further north. They carried their name with them, as did the dwellers of Karaulbagh when they were made to move west across the Dehlia Nalla in 1914 (thus bearing out the truth of Kosambi's saying that in India the village name referred not to a site, but to a community).[55]

The Metcalfe estate itself suffered from neglect and absentee ownership, and Lala Chunna Mal (Delhi's Rothschild) and Mr Curl and Mr Piggott, English officials, acquired land there by private arrangement with an Indian contractor.[56] Both Chandrawal and the Metcalfe estate were included in the lands acquired for the Temporary Capital in 1912, and the villagers were offered land on easy terms by the Raja of Bharatpur. There were also offers from the Nawab of

Rampur, Captain Skinner of Karnal and the Syeds of Sonepat. The reasons for their generosity are not known. The villagers opted for Karnal.[57]

The case of Trevelyanpur/Trevelyanganj was different. If Thomas Metcalfe was a robber baron, Charles Trevelyan was a Victorian visionary. The residual *mauza* of Jahan-numa, government property managed by the British Resident, was farmed out in the 1820s for a mere 241 rupees, since the rocky land there was so unproductive. Trevelyan, a young Assistant Commissioner in Delhi, gave the first indication of his interest in planned urban development which was to be seen thirty years later when he was briefly governor of Madras.[58] In 1830 he bought 200 *bighas* in the rocky Pahari Dhiraj area, north of Paharganj, for a nominal sum. He prepared a ground plan for Trevelyanpur, a suburb 'to supply habitations for the increasing population of the city'; it was on a grid pattern, with streets ninety feet wide and with names such as Blake Street and Babar Street (shades of New Delhi!) There was a public garden and a central colonnaded market called Bentinckganj. He sold plots (for cash or in exchange for land elsewhere) using documents with his own signature. Because the land was unproductive and, therefore, not in demand, he was able to work the curious miracle of buying only 200 *bighas* but selling 574! Of these, 200 were sold to Diwan Kishen Lal (the same individual who had been interested in the Jheel) who built a gateway fronting Lahori Gate and who was commemorated by Kishengunj. He paid 30 rupees per *bigha*, while the rest of the land was sold at 15 rupees per *bigha* to individuals who helped Trevelyan. The profits, together with some money of his own, were ploughed back into 'improvements' of which the permanent ones were the central market, a bridge and a road. Fourteen of the individuals who bought plots constructed buildings and eighty-four planted gardens (still in evidence in maps of 1912).[59] This had become possible by the permanent conditioning of the canal in the 1830s which made irrigation of the Ridge possible. In 1834 it was remarked that 'the new suburb . . . is sufficiently interesting to attract a visit from strangers.'[60] Most of the inhabitants of Trevelyanpur (it is not clear whether they were the original purchasers or their tenants) were the retainers of Raja Hindu Rao; others were Marwaris.

In 1858 the British government inherited the crown properties of the Mughals, and the private estates of the Emperor, the Rajas of Ballabgarh and Awadh, of Raja Hindu Rao, and of the *maafidars*.

Those of the latter who could prove their innocence recovered their property. Other loyalists were rewarded with *zamindari* rights over villages at a distance from the city (Palam, Malcha, Badli, Timarpur, Malikpur, Dhaka, Azadpur and Wazirpur).[61] Most of *maafi* plots were formed into gardens and thus appreciated in value.[62] When in the 1860s land had to be given to compensate those who had suffered by the acquisitions in the walled city, the government auctioned plots from their property in Jahan-numa and Sadhaura Kalan. They retained control of Firozabad, Jatwara and Khandrat Kalan to the south, Andhauli and Kaithwara east of the palace, Jahan-numa and Banksauli on the west, Sadhaura Kalan, Sadhaura Khurd, Wazirabad and Chandrawal to the north. These estates were managed by the Deputy Commissioner, with tenants paying him land-revenue, cesses and *malikana*.

Till the 1870s, the policy of exchanging land for land was quite common. From then, as the prices of land started to soar, it was not done quite so frequently. The price of land in Delhi District increased 160 percent between the 1870s and 1910, and a remarkable feature of the District was that only 8 percent of the land was under mortgage between 1874 and 1910, and only 9 percent was sold in the same period.[63] Those who bought land from farmers or from the government were well-to-do merchants and lawyers of Delhi city, who treated land as an investment.[64]

In the 1860s (as had happened in the late eighteenth century and was to happen in the New Delhi area in the 1950s, after another upheaval) the state of official disorganization and low land values led to appropriations of land and encroachments by land-owners in areas which were agriculturally unproductive (in Jahan-numa and Sadhaura Kalan). 'Squatters'—people displaced by the reorganization within the walled city, and camp followers of the army of occupation for whom the Sadar Bazar was put up in Jahan-numa—entrenched themselves in the area. That this occurred at a given time and was not a continuous process is shown by the figures—there were twenty-nine Hindu and twenty-one Muslim 'squatters' in the Sadar Bazar in 1880. In 1903 there was a change of ownership but no overall increase. In fact, the number had been reduced to sixteen and thirty-one respectively by 1903.[65] The increase in the number of Muslim holdings was explained by settlements of Punjabi Sheikh merchants in this area as the volume of wholesale trade increased, following the railway line. For the government properties as a whole, the haziness of official

records is indicated by the fact that in the 1870s they assumed that most of the titles to the land had been acquired after 1857, i.e. conferred as *maafis* by the British government. When a detailed investigation was carried out in 1907, however, 1,698 of the 2,125 claims in *nazul* properties were shown as being anterior to 1857 (and hence rent-free!) When rent was belatedly levied on the remaining 427, the owners sued the government and forced it to withdraw its claim.[66]

The pattern of the late eighteenth century, a period of crisis, was therefore being repeated in the late nineteenth century, though this was a period of stable government. Both the wealthy and the poor managed to engross or occupy land, without the government being able to derive any benefit from it. This had two serious consequences. By the time the officials started to think of town-planning in the 1890s, irreparable damage had been done by way of unplanned settlement without the infrastructure of drainage or water supply, and was continuing unabated—the populated area of the suburbs doubled from 360 to 700 acres between 1896 and 1908. Between 1903 and 1908, the value of land in eastern Sadar Bazar rose 700 percent and was much higher than elsewhere in Delhi.[67] The second harmful result was that the ecological balance of the city and its suburbs got distorted, particularly in Mughalpura, which also became very densely populated. The old settlement became 'covered with buildings' owned by older inhabitants and by immigrant merchants.[68] From the 1870s the green areas started to be taken over in sections, for factories.

The picture in the north after 1857 was quite different. There was a marked contrast between the crowded Sadar Bazar and Paharganj, and the Civil Lines with the open spaces between houses. The estates here were either auctioned in the form of large plots in the 1860s, or retained by the government as *ghair mumkin* ('prohibited'), a colloquialism used as a technical term for acquired land which could not be built upon. The plots in Sadhaura Kalan were retained as gardens, following traditional use, and those in Chandrawal were formed into bungalows (in 1908 fifty acres were occupied by bungalows). In Chandrawal 613 acres (a little under half the whole estate) was *ghair mumkin*, as was 364 acres (a quarter of the estate) of Jahan-numa. Of the proprietors in Chandrawal, seven were *maafi* holders of 1858, and nineteen were later purchasers. All of them paid a nominal 'peppercorn' ground-rent to the Municipality.[69]

The Civil Lines was open and green by contrast with the Sadar

Bazar, and one of the attractive qualities was that it had not been built on a grid plan. 'Although several miles of roads have in the past been constructed in the Civil Lines and large amounts of money expended, there has been no preconceived scheme of layout.'[70] The irregular alignments of roads indicate the boundaries of plots and villages. The value of land was low and the construction of dwellings in the Civil Lines occurred at a lethargic pace by contrast to the Sadar Bazar. However, after the Durbars of 1903 and 1911 there was a building boom and in the five years after 1903 the value of land in the Civil Lines increased by 50 percent, and the rents of bungalows increased by 50 percent between 1903 and 1912. By 1912 there were 111 bungalows, of which thirteen had been specially built for the Durbars of 1903 and 1911. Taking advantage of the rise in prices, owners of small plots, particularly Europeans, sold out at high profit to city merchants.[71]

Another low-density area was that appropriated for the army. In 1834 the cantonment was under the outcrop of rocks north-east of the city, Majnun ka Tila ('like an army in ambuscade').[72] After 1858, when the superior British staff were moved into the Palace and the infantry to Daryaganj, some areas outside the walls (Silampur, Kaithwara and Jatwara Kalan) were declared *ghair mumkin* in the interests of the army. When in 1908 the Cantonment was moved out from Daryaganj back to the Ridge, it was located in an area west of the original settlement in the area, earlier declared *ghair mumkin* as constituting the 'Durbar area'—Timarpur, Malikpur, Dhaka and Hindu Rao's estate. Within a few years, this area was to be made part of the Temporary Capital, and the army moved again—to its new quarters in Naraina.

In 1911–12, when it was decided to transfer the capital to Delhi, a massive land-acquisition project was launched. The allocation of this in 1915 is remarkable for its lack of realism. Allocation for low-density occupation was, for the temporary capital to the north, 1338 acres; for the new city to the south, 20,856 acres; the cantonment, 10 acres, and the new railway station, 120 acres. The total area allotted was 22,324 acres.

As against this, allocation for resettlement from 'acquired' Jaisinghpura and for the spillover from the high-density walled city and Sadar Bazar was a total of 946 acres. Of this, 4 acres were allotted to improving Faiz Bazar; 364 acres for the western extension area, west of the Ridge, and 578 acres for city extensions.[73] The area provided for

natural expansion, therefore, was less than that for the Temporary Capital. Thus was begun the extraordinary project of building *two* capital cities on both sides of an older one. The few loyalists who had been able to buy large plots of land in the north and the west in the 1860s were now the beneficiaries of this policy of building not only a capital south of Shahjahanabad but another, to serve twenty years in that capacity, in the Civil Lines area. The agriculturists to the south moved to Rohtak, Gurgaon and Bulandshahr. Only a political constraint like this (as in 1857–8, the policy of discriminating against the Muslims of Delhi) led to a movement of population away from the Delhi area to neighbouring towns. As for the hope expressed in 1921, that 'the development of the New City and the City extensions will entice migration from the old limits,'[74] this was to prove fatuous. Not till the 1950s, in circumstances not dreamed of by the planners of New Delhi, did this occur. Even then, only a few individuals moved to New Delhi—those who could afford to move to a suburban home while retaining their property in Shahjahanabad. The 'growth' of Delhi was not by the 'urbanization', culturally and in terms of land-use, of neighbouring rural areas but by the steady acquisition of tracts of village land. The growth in its population in the present century was due to immigration of professional and labouring classes, not from the immediate hinterland but from other provinces. The dichotomy between town and rural hinterland, therefore, persisted.

This essay began with a pungent comment by Patrick Geddes on the plight of Indian towns. It would be fitting to close with a platitude uttered at the same time by Geddes' *bêtes noires*, Lutyens, Baker and Swinton, members of the Town Planning Committee entrusted with the task of planning New Delhi.

> The governing principle of the town planning movement is foresight.[75]

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ARTISTS AND PATRONS IN 'RESIDENCY' DELHI, 1803–1858

MILDRED ARCHER

Between 1803, when Delhi fell to the British in the Third Maratha War, and 1858 when government passed from the East India Company to the Crown, a distinctive type of painting by Indian artists flourished in the old Mughal capital. Generous patronage from the 'Emperor' and his court had by now dwindled away, but the British Resident and various officers who now controlled the administration provided a new market for Indian painters. Delhi and the 'Grand Mogul' had for long held a romantic fascination for the British. From the late sixteenth century onwards the wealth of the Mughal Emperors, the spectacular grandeur of their palaces and the richness of their culture had dazzled British travellers and merchants. By the second half of the eighteenth century much of that grandeur had vanished. In 1739 the Persian invader, Nadir Shah, had carried off the Peacock Throne; in 1764 the Jats had removed the silver roof from the Rang Mahal and gouged out precious stones from the masonry; in 1787 the Rohilla chief, Ghulam Qadir Khan, had blinded the Emperor and dug up the palace floors in search of buried wealth. During the last years of the century, the Marathas under Sindhia had dominated the city and its surroundings and held the Emperor in their power.

In view of these conditions it was difficult for the British to visit Delhi without a strong escort or official backing. Yet the mystique of the 'Grand Mogul' and his capital continued to fascinate. As soon, therefore, as the city passed to the East India Company in 1803, British residents were quick to indulge their curiosity. The Emperor, or 'King' as he was now called, was left with only his palace and a small area around it for his maintenance. A British colony rapidly developed with civil officers at first living within the city walls, while a military cantonment was established beyond the Ridge. The admin-

istration was headed by a British Resident. It was now safe to explore the city and ride or picnic among the ruins that littered the outskirts. During the next half-century one British writer after another expatiated on the picturesque beauties of Delhi.

Emma Roberts noted that 'There is no place in British India which the intellectual traveller approaches with feelings more strongly excited than the ancient seat of the Mughal empire . . . From the outside the view is splendid; domes, mosques, cupolas and minarets, and the imperial palace frowning like a mountain of red granite, appear in the midst of groves of clustering trees, so thickly planted that the buildings have been compared, in Oriental imagery, to rocks of pearls and rubies, rising from an emerald sea.' For many, sobering thoughts of change and decay gave additional piquancy to the scene. Charles Metcalfe, when Assistant Resident at Delhi, meditated on 'the myriads of vast mausoleums, every one of which was intended to convey to futurity the deathless fame of its cold inhabitant, and all of which are passed by unknown and unnoticed . . . these things cannot be looked at with indifference.' Emily Eden considered Delhi 'a very suggestive and moralising place . . . such stupendous ruins of power and wealth passed and passing away.' Sir James Mackintosh felt 'a reverential melancholy' as if he were 'lifted above the present time and circumstances'. Captain Mundy mused on 'How many centuries of chequered prosperity and desolation have passed over this spot, so replete with historical recollections. At one moment my imagination painted the splendour and magnificence of Delhi in the glorious reigns of Baber, Acbar & Aurungzebe, at another, the picture was reversed, and Delhi plundered and deluged in blood by Tartar, Afghan and Mughal invaders, and reduced to purchase peace of a Maratha banditti, recurred to my memory.'

It is not surprising that such attitudes led to a quick demand from the newly arrived British for paintings of the picturesque buildings which they so much admired. The demand was at once met by humble Indian artists who were living in Delhi with scant employ but still possessing hereditary skills. They were only too willing to work for the new residents. As a result, during the next twenty years or so sets of large architectural drawings, frequently bound up into fine volumes, were produced by these artists. Favourite subjects were the Red Fort with the elegant Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas, the Jami Masjid and its great entrance gateway, the Qutb Minar and the tombs of Safdar Jang and Humayun. Monuments in neighbouring areas

were also included—at Sikandra Akbar's mausoleum and at Fatehpur Sikri, the Buland Darwaza and the mausoleum of Salim Chisti. Agra provided numerous subjects—the Fort with its imposing gateways, the Pearl Mosque, the Khas Mahal, the Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas and the nearby mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daula. The Taj Mahal was the most popular subject of all and entire sets of paintings were made depicting the entrance gateway, the mausoleum and the cenotaph chamber with details of the tombs, the screen and the *pietra dura* work.

The artists quickly adapted their technique to suit the new patrons. Their drawings bore a strong resemblance to that of British engineers and were executed on large sheets of English paper in pen-and-ink and wash in soft tones of cream and grey with touches of gold, red and green. The buildings were shown in elevation against a plain background surrounded by a black border. European conventions of perspective were used in a somewhat naïve manner. At the same time the Indian artists' love of meticulous detail showed itself in the precise depiction of bricks and inlay work, which almost transformed the drawings into abstract patterns.

By about 1825 it was clear that there was an expanding demand for drawings of local monuments. A parallel type of painting developed consisting of smaller studies in watercolour showing the buildings in a full landscape setting. The artists' repertoire was extended to include many other monuments such as the Qadam Rasul (the Court of the Print of the Prophet's Foot), the Qudsiya Bagh, the Zinat-ul-Masajid at Daryaganj, the Firuz Shah Kotla, and the tomb of Azam Khan Koka.

Monuments, however, were only one of the subjects depicted by Delhi artists. The Mughal Emperors themselves were a source of great interest to the British. Both Akbar II (1806–37) and Bahadur Shah II (1837–58) were quiet cultured men. Akbar was by nature a kindly benevolent person; Bahadur Shah a dignified figure who in different circumstances might have exercised great influence. As it was, thwarted by British domination, he became a poet-philosopher diverting his energies into poetry and religion. He patronised poets such as Ghalib, Zauq and Momin Khan and held literary gatherings or *mushairas* at which poets recited their works at night by lamplight. He lived simply and was fond of gardens and animals. Both Emperors did their best to preserve the etiquette of the Mughal court. They received visitors with dignity, held durbars for important guests and

rode in procession on elephants, accompanied by trumpeters and drummers, horse and foot soldiers.

For the more intelligent of the British, the King of Delhi aroused feelings of pity and compassion. Bishop Heber, as he looked at the Diwan-i-Am 'full of lumber of all descriptions, broken palanquins and empty boxes, and the throne so covered with pigeons' dung, that its ornaments were hardly discernible', thought of the lines of Saadi:

> The spider hath woven his web in the royal palace of the Caesars,
> The owl standeth sentinel in the watch towers of Afrasiab.

Brash young officers, on the other hand, giggled at the receptions when they donned the cheap finery which was all the court could now afford. Captain Mundy scoffed at the *Khilats* conferred by the King, the 'silver muslin robes, and sirpeaches or fillets of the same material tastily bound round our cocked hats. Never did I behold a group so ludicrous as we presented when our toilette was accomplished; we wanted nothing but a Jack i' the Green to qualify us for a May Day exhibition of the most exaggerated order.' But whatever their attitude to the King, the British wanted portraits of him.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the most skilled of the Delhi artists produced durbar scenes showing the King seated on his throne in the Diwan-i-Am with his sons and ministers ranged on either side, attendants with peacock-feather fans standing beside him. Frequently the British Resident at Delhi—David Ochterlony, Archibald Seton or Charles Metcalfe—was included in the throng. Other paintings show the King in procession mounted on an elephant or borne in a litter surrounded by sons and nobles with the British Resident in attendance. Portraits of the King alone or with his family were also popular. A dignified and moving study of Bahadur Shah shows him with two of his sons and a single servant seated in the Khas Mahal in front of the marble relief of the Scales of Justice. His sunken eyes and the frozen gaze of his sons convey the tragic isolation of this sensitive figure. At a more popular level sets of small portraits of the Mughal Emperors from Babur onwards were made on paper or ivory. Delhi artists also continued to paint genre scenes—dancing girls being a favourite subject. The best of these miniatures are still strongly composed; their sumptuous colouring, the precise rendering of marble and stucco or the minute designs of carpets and textiles can still bear comparison with earlier Mughal miniatures, and the paintings have a nostalgic charm of their own.

During the Residency period certain Delhi artists not only produced paintings for general sale but worked for individual British patrons in a more realistic manner showing European influence. A number of the East India Company servants in Delhi at this time were eccentric flamboyant characters with a deep love of India and the Indian way of life. Through being posted up-country for long periods and living remote from the Presidency city where British manners and values dominated social life, they were able to live in a semi-Indian style. Some retained *bibis* (Indian 'wives'), smoked hookahs and relaxed in Indian dress. They acquired a deep regard for Mughal culture and treated the King and his court with dignified deference and sympathy. It was men of this type who took an interest in Indian painting and even retained or patronised particular local artists. Some of these artists can be identified. 'Lallji', Jivan Ram, Mazhar Ali Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan and Ghulam Murtaza Khan, for example, are names that can be connected with specific paintings and patrons.

Sir David Ochterlony (1758–1825) was one of these outstanding personalities. He lived in Delhi from 1803 to 1825 and was twice Resident, from 1803 to 1806 and 1818 to 1822. He had a house in the city and a garden house on the road to Azalpur. In the evenings he would take the air riding on an elephant accompanied by a large escort which included his *bibis* and the families of his servants. A miniature of Ochterlony by an unknown Indian artist shows him seated wearing Indian dress, smoking a hookah and watching a band of nautch girls; on the wall in the background hang portraits of his Scottish ancestors. He is known to have commissioned portraits of himself from the artist Jivan Ram, one of which is in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. Emily Eden, when she met this artist in 1838, was greatly impressed by his work.

William Fraser (1784–1835) had similar tastes. Too eccentric, hot-tempered and wayward to rise to the top of the Company's service in Calcutta, he spent many years up-country until he was murdered in 1835. He went to Delhi in 1805 as Secretary to Ochterlony. After accompanying Mountstuart Elphinstone on his mission to Kabul in 1809, taking part in the Nepal War of 1814–15 and subsequently settling the newly acquired territory in Garhwal, he returned to Delhi for the rest of his career, administering the north-western provinces. From 1833 to 1835 he was Civil Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi, as the post of Resident was called

after 1832. He had quickly acquired Indian ways and mixed more with Indians than with his British colleagues. When in 1812 he and his friend, the Hon. Edward Gardner, met Lady Nugent, wife of the Commander-in-Chief, in Calcutta, she was shocked by their beards and the fact that they had given up eating beef or pork. She reprimanded them for being 'as much Indoo as Christians' and reminded them of 'the religion they were brought up to'. As the French botanist, Jacquemont, was to write of Fraser, 'He is half Asiatic in his habits, but in other respects a Scotch Highlander, and an excellent man with great originality of thought, a metaphysician to boot, and enjoying the best possible reputation of being a country bear.'

That Fraser was a generous patron of Delhi artists is proved by a large collection of pictures which recently came to light. It contained paintings by several hands depicting costumes and occupations as well as intimate portraits of Fraser's office staff, his Indian friends and local villagers, as well as members of Skinner's Horse. These portraits, many identified with inscriptions by Fraser himself, were outstanding for their realism and sensitivity. The name of the artist is not known but he was certainly the finest of all the Delhi painters. He may possibly have been Faiz Ali Khan, the brother of Ghulam Ali Khan who worked for Fraser's friend, Colonel James Skinner. A charming picture which earlier passed through the London sale rooms, throws light on Fraser's private life. It depicted a beautiful Indian woman with a child and was inscribed in Persian, 'Sarwan, a Jat woman, the chosen one of Fraser Sahib, whose delicate beauty was beyond compare'. She appears to have been a village girl, for further portraits of her in Fraser's private collection show her with the same child in the village of Rania near Hissar. Like former Delhi Residents, Fraser had come to terms with the country and had his Indian *bibis* and children by them. When William's brother, James Baillie Fraser, visited Delhi in 1820 on his way back to England, he followed his brother's example and commissioned further paintings by Indian artists illustrating life in Delhi.

Another patron of local artists was Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, who succeeded Fraser as Governor-General's Agent in Delhi after the latter was murdered in 1835. He had come to Delhi in 1813 when his brother, Charles, was Assistant Resident to Ochterlony and he stayed there for forty years. After a spendthrift youth, which irked his brother, he eventually settled down as a happy family man with no desire to leave the city. In about 1830, he built 'Metcalfe House'

on the banks of the Yamuna. It still stands and is now used as the Defence Science Laboratory. The architecture has been greatly modified over the years but the position of the house on the river and the size of its rooms still conveys some idea of its former grandeur. Later Thomas acquired a somewhat unconventional garden-house for himself and his family. He purchased from an Indian banker a small octagonal tomb near the Qutb Minar and adapted it to his own use. He respected the actual tomb and never used the chamber above it, but added a suite of rooms all around. The house had two small entrance halls on the east and west sides reached by flights of steps, a drawing room, three bedrooms and a tiny 'oratory'. Beside it he built a small guest house with three or four rooms and laid out a charming garden adjoining the great Pillar of Victory. The house was called Dilkusha or 'Heart's Delight' and was frequently lent to honeymooners.

Thomas Metcalfe commissioned a Delhi artist, Mazhar Ali Khan, to make a large set of drawings for him. They were mounted in a family album which still belongs to his descendants. It is entitled 'Reminiscences of Imperial Delhi' with the dedication, 'For my very dear girls. 25th Nov. 1844'. The album contains detailed drawings and plans of these two houses. One painting shows the underground room or *taikhana* where the family kept cool in the hot weather. The album also contains a portrait of Bahadur Shah and the various figures that took part in the royal processions. In addition Sir Thomas commissioned a wide range of drawings of Delhi monuments including Fraser's tomb in St James's Churchyard.

In a similar manner Colonel James Skinner (1778–1841), a friend of both Fraser and Metcalfe, employed Delhi artists. He was yet another Delhi resident who had settled into Indian ways. The son of a Scottish officer in the Company's service who had married a Rajput girl, he served for some years under the Maratha Generals de Boigne and later Perron. After the defeat of Perron by Lord Lake at Delhi in 1803, the eight-hundred horse who deserted to the British entreated Skinner to remain their leader. This force became the famous Irregular Cavalry Corps known as Skinner's Horse, or 'The Yellow Boys', so called from the colour of their uniforms. Skinner had an estate at Hansi, south of Delhi and also a large house at the Kashmiri Gate which has only recently been pulled down. Here he lived in semi-Indian style and entertained lavishly. His parties were most popular and he had a pleasant habit of presenting pictures of dancing girls to

his guests—perhaps the very dancers who had been entertaining them.

Several Indian artists worked for Skinner. To one of them, Ghulam Murtaza Khan, he gave a testimonial describing him as the 'counterpart of Mani and Bihzad'. He also employed Ghulam Ali Khan to paint portraits of himself, his friends and the various members of his household. Three large pictures inscribed with this artist's name show Skinner seated in durbar at Hansi, returning from reviewing his troops and inspecting his farm at Dhana. Others, which form part of his family album, depict groups of his 'Yellow Boys', recruits to his regiment, his musicians, tent pitchers, *chaprassi*, Jat cultivators and milkman. Many of his friends are also portrayed, some by other artists, for instance the uncle of Shams-ud-din (at whose instance William Fraser had been murdered), Maharaja Ishwari Singh of Jaitpur, Udin Singh Rajput of Ujjain, as well as humbler neighbours like Sayyid Mirza Azim Khan of Hansi, aged 107 years. Ghulam Ali Khan's drawings with their loose relaxed style and carefully delineated faces, bring these people vividly to life.

After the Mutiny of 1857 when Government passed from the East India Company to the Crown, this way of life came to a sudden end. The old King and his wife were exiled to Burma, the princes had been killed, and the court, which till the end had preserved vestiges of Mughal culture, was disbanded. The Mughal palaces and tombs were either used as offices or preserved as ancient monuments, later to become tourist attractions. Delhi lost its brilliant individuality and soon became indistinguishable from many other large British stations. With these changes the patronage of Indian artists ceased. A few painters developed a tourist trade in cheap pictures of monuments and rulers executed on both paper and ivory; others became successful photographers, but Mughal painting at long last was dead.

A MEDITATION ON THE LIFE OF COLONEL JAMES SKINNER, CITIZEN OF DELHI

PHILIP MASON

Chess, Lord Macaulay and the Mughals

It was for a sound practical reason that I turned back, some two years ago, to refresh my memory of the period of Maratha ascendancy in Delhi and Hindustan. A film magnate wanted to make a picture about James Skinner and the founding of Skinner's Horse. He was prepared to commission a story which would serve as the basis for his 'epic' so I interrupted what I was doing, re-read Compton's *Military Adventurers* and Baillie Fraser's *Colonel James Skinner* and wrote a story based on Skinner's life, which has since been published, in the U.K. as *Skinner of Skinner's Horse* and in the U.S.A. as *Skinner's Horse*. I have heard nothing for some time about the film, which did present logistical and technical difficulties and I have no great hopes that it will ever be shot.

My task too had its problems, though of quite a different kind, mainly of trying to simplify a complicated and unfamiliar background for a general audience. I enjoyed it. But it did not involve much research and would be of no interest to readers of this book if it had not given rise to some reflexions about the history of the period for which there was no place in my story. The first of these not very profound thoughts concerns chess, Lord Macaulay and the Mughal emperors.

Chess is a metaphor that constantly obtrudes on a writer trying to explain the political and military importance of the poor old blind Emperor Shah Alam. Like a king in the game of chess, he had very little striking power or mobility; indeed, he had less than the king in chess. But in chess the king must be protected by much stronger pieces on his own side and he must not fall into the hands of the

enemy, and so it was with Shah Alam. In the game, however, it does not matter in what square of the board the king stands; it is his person that counts. But in history, it was to have possession of the emperor in one particular square—Delhi—that was important.

This was the background to James Skinner's adventure of the 60,000 pack bullocks. Ochterlony had the King and was in Delhi with forces quite insufficient to defend the seven miles of crumbling walls for more than a few days. Holkar advanced on Delhi. Check! Lake was confident that Holkar would not face a pitched battle. He was camped near Muttra (Mathura). If Lake could make a move in the next ten days towards Delhi, Holkar would abandon the threat to the King and the mate would be avoided. But Lake could not move without grain, and sixty thousand pack bullocks loaded with his grain had been feloniously intercepted by a petty raja. James Skinner and his Yellow Boys brought in the bullocks, Lake marched on Delhi, Holkar broke up his siege and marched away. That at least is how James Skinner tells the story.

But everyone was sure that if Holkar had taken Delhi, it would have been very like checkmate, the game lost if not the series. Half a century later, in 1857, Delhi—with the emperor—was again the symbol of authority, of power, and therefore of victory. Nor had the symbolism of the Red Fort been forgotten by Indians—though it had by the British—in 1945. But to return to the period of Lord Lake and Daulat Rao Scindia, the point is of wider significance than moves in a game of diplomatic and military chess. Before the Treaty of Bassein and the Second Maratha War, Scindia had been master of Hindustan. He held Delhi and therefore he was the Emperor's deputy and this gave him a title to what he held by force. He was the channel through whom the emperor's authority flowed. Everyone who exercised power—from de Boigne and Perron, Lakwa Dada and Ambaji Englia, down to the most trivial ruffian who for some well-timed piece of showmanship had been granted a *jaidad* of three villages—everyone in theory held his fief ultimately from the emperor and drew from him the authority for his acts.

Consider for example the Begam Somru. Her infamous husband had won from the emperor the grant of a property at Sardhana and on his death the Begam succeeded in keeping it for more than a quarter of a century, ruling as a prince and maintaining an army, shifting her alliances with every wind that blew in Delhi, but always professing allegiance to the emperor. Without the formal title, she would have

been nothing; without her wits and personality and lack of scruple, she would have lost all she had in a year. But the title was derived from a monarch who had been blinded by one of his jailers, who could not clothe or feed his servants or even his family, who lived on the bounty allowed him by Scindia's deputy in the north.

'A wretched phantom' is the term Lord Macaulay applies to the Mughal emperor in that celebrated passage in which he compares the fall of the Carlovingians to the fall of the Mughals. It is always fun to read Macaulay and it would be great fun to be able to write like Macaulay. I particularly cherish the sentence about the Indian peasant who, whenever he heard the kettle-drums of the Marathas, 'fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyaena and the tiger.' But to enjoy his language does not mean agreeing with his historical judgement. Here however his main point seems to be valid; as the Carlovingian line descended to the 'abject heirs of an illustrious name', officials turned themselves into princes; and, in much the same way, as the Mughal empire declined, the Nizam of the Deccan and the Nawabs of Oudh and Bengal became hereditary and almost independent princes.

Almost, but not quite—for as 'a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians', the viceroys of the last Mughals 'might occasionally send their titular sovereign a complimentary present or solicit from him a title of honour.' And it is here that I want to reverse Macaulay's emphasis. He is laying stress on the independence of all these new princes. But it is the continuance of the allegiance that interests me. It is surely a matter of some surprise that the rulers of Hyderabad and Oudh should have kept up the pretence of being vassals so long after they had possessed themselves of the reality of power.

In the case of the Carlovingians, it was the strong memory of Rome that bound men's minds. Rome had given Gaul 450 years of peace. Charlemagne revived the name of Rome and linked it with a Christian vision of a universal monarch bringing peace to the world in the name of Christ. It really cannot be said that the Mughal emperors had either comparable memories on which to draw or any savour of supernatural blessing. There was only Akbar. Before Akbar, the house of Tamerlane had provided names of terror, no doubt, but they had hardly stood for peace; for most of their subjects, they had been conquerors, foreigners and infidels. Akbar had chosen a Hindu

Diwan, he had allied himself with Rajput houses in marriage, he had tried to make a fair assessment of land revenue, he had even tried to reconcile Hinduism and Islam. Too much, no doubt, for one man's life, but he had tried. No one had tried very hard after that. Jahangir and Shahjahan did nothing to endear themselves and Aurangzeb seems on the contrary to have wished to atone for the unscrupulous means he had used to reach the throne by the piety with which he destroyed the shrines of his Hindu subjects. The power of the Mughals had no supernatural sanction for four-fifths of their subjects and had lasted at best three generations after the death of Akbar—just over a century—and then was quickly reduced to the state described by Macaulay with his usual panache: 'A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines and listening to buffoons.'

Thus there was only a short memory of peace. Nor had it been peace of a very high quality; the Mughal administration had its priorities and getting in the land revenue and suppressing sedition came before the prevention of crime. Yet such is man's longing for some stability in chaos, some authority that will impose peace, that the memory of the Mughal empire lived on as something which even the most unscrupulous rogue found it useful to invoke as he fought his way to power.

Injustice to the Country-Born

Let us for a moment hold in mind that point about the desire for stability and turn to something quite different, something central in the life of James Skinner, something which will in the end link up with the first point, though this will not be apparent at first.

James Skinner was torn between two cultures, though inclining by temperament to his Rajpur mother. But he was rejected both by Rajputs and the British. The whole system of Rajput belief depended on maintaining social distance from those whose deeds in a previous incarnation had condemned them to a different status; they could not regard Skinner as one of themselves. The British had no such doctrinal excuse; indeed, their religion, if they had any, condemned the preservation of social distance. But the Governor-General, advised by his Council, had passed a rule which debarred from commissioned rank in the army persons whose mothers were 'natives of India'.

Since there were few English women in India in the eighteenth century, there were many sons of English officers, who, like James Skinner, were prevented by their birth from joining the Company's service. Many of them, like Skinner, went into the service of Maratha princes, where they often distinguished themselves. With the Second Maratha War in 1803, they were in some cases imprisoned or executed, in others dismissed, and had no alternative but to seek employment from the British. Skinner was most reluctant to accept the necessity and made it a condition that he should not have to fight against Scindia, whom he had served. Eventually however he agreed to command a body of irregular horse and in this capacity distinguished himself again and again. But he could not hold a regular commission. Whenever he was recommended for an honour objections would be raised in Calcutta; if it was an English honour such as Companion of the Bath, it was impossible because his mother was a native of India; if it was an Indian honour, such as a grant of land, then he was not himself a native of India but a British subject.

Emotionally, of course, anyone must feel indignant that he was so hardly used. I emphasised the injustice as much as I could in my story. Stories are about men and women, not trends in history. Yet all the time, there was a doubt at the back of my mind. Was it really, in the long run, such a bad thing, in the interests either of Britain or of India, that the British should have kept themselves to themselves? I mean by this familiar phrase the preservation of formal distinctions. Of course I deplore rudeness or hostility of manner. That was altogether bad. But all serious people who write about India today assume that 'maintaining social distance' in any form was something undesirable in itself and in its consequences. What however were the alternatives?

Suppose that, like the Portuguese, the British in India had encouraged inter-marriage. (They did, briefly, in Madras, but soon gave it up.) Or even that, like the Spanish in Mexico and Peru, they had taken it for granted. Let us suppose that the 'country-born', like James Skinner, had been commissioned into the Company's regiments, making up, let us say, about half the officer strength. Skinner and his contemporaries made very good officers; there is no question about that. But is it not the probability that—quite apart from friction *within* the Company's regiments—the relations between King's officers and Company's officers would have deteriorated? There was always some jealousy between Indian Army and British

service, even after 1858, when both had been through Sandhurst together. On one side, there was often a feeling of social superiority, because an officer in the British service must have private means; he was more likely to be a man of the world, to know the right people and stay at the right houses in England. On the other side, there was often an irritated consciousness of knowing the ways of the country, of having more military experience, of having had responsibility much earlier, of being more professional. In the circumstances I am envisaging, this feeling would surely have been much sharper and surely in the great crisis of 1857 some disillusioned and embittered country-born officers would have sided with the sepoys. If the sepoys had had just a few more good officers, they might well have cleared the Ridge at Delhi; there would have been princes who would have joined a rising that began to look victorious. And what then? Either a much longer and bloodier conflict with greater consequent bitterness, or a victory of Princes allied to a reactionary army of high-caste soldiers led by 'country-born' officers with a settler mentality. That would hardly have made the next century a better one for the Indian peasant. Independence from Spain, after revolts by country-born settlers, did nothing at all for the Amerindian peon in Mexico and Peru.

All this is speculation, no doubt unprofitable and highly improper for professional historians, but there is usually some advantage in questioning basic assumptions. The Spanish parallel of course is one that cannot be carried far, because the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America, led by the 'country-born', occurred when the Spanish crown was weak. Also, the rebels had some degree of support from Britain, who had command of the seas. Besides, Spanish rule was feudal and based on tenure of land, while British rule in India was official. All the same, if James Skinner had not fallen under the spell of Lord Lake, he would have made a splendid Bolivar.

The Kettle-drums of the Marathas

But I am making an unjustifiable assumption myself, you will say. I am, it seems, assuming that British rule in India had some moral justification. I accept the charge, which brings me to the third point that struck me as I read about the life of James Skinner, and which links up with the other two.

It is widely assumed today that the rule of one people over another

is altogether unjustifiable. But there are surely exceptions. One was the occupation of western Germany immediately after the Hitler War. It was a temporary measure; its object was to enable the nation to establish a democratic system of government and it came to an end when that object was achieved. Another was the occupation of the Confederate States after the Civil War, with the object of effecting transition from slavery to an economy based on free labour. Each of these examples was for a limited period with a definite end in sight. British rule in India was on a longer time-scale and I do not by any means defend every stage of the process by which it arose. But on the conscious level—if one may personify a nation—in Burke's speeches at the trial of Warren Hastings, in the great Acts of 1813, 1833 and 1853, it was always proclaimed that British rule was a trust and trusteeship, and this implied that it would come to an end when the ward came of age. Of course, there were those who saw it as a permanent trust and there were those who tried to make it permanent, but not, I think, those of deep insight.

And that there was a state of affairs in central India and Hindustan that justified intervention was the third of the strong impressions left on me by turning back to the lives of James Skinner and the adventurers of that period. Macaulay was not exaggerating in his remarks about the milder neighbourhood of the hyaena and the tiger. Armies lived off the land; there was continual warfare—civil war between Scindia's nobles, war between Scindia and Holkar, war between Marathas and Rajputs, Marathas and Mughals, not to mention incursions of Sikhs across the Yamuna and occasional raids from Kabul. Each army devastated the country around it, searching for grain and fodder, and frequently burning where they could not find food. A standard diversion was to send a cavalry sweep through the territory from which an enemy drew his revenue, burning and pillaging. Since the troops were usually in arrears over their pay, sometimes one year, sometimes two, they depended on loot. Sleeman's evidence about the relief felt by the peasantry after the end of the Pindaris seems to me altogether convincing; no doubt things were at their worst in the period between the Second and Third Maratha Wars but they were bad enough before the Second.

Consider also the evidence of contemporaries about the in-fighting among Scindia's nobles, the treacheries and betrayals, the attempted murders, the absence of any concern for the peasantry. If ever there was a situation that justified intervention by a power that would

impose internal tranquillity and prevent external invasion, it was this.

Of course I will concede at once that the conditions of the trust were undefined. Two benefits flowed from it at once, internal peace and freedom from invasion, and before the end of the century, a third, a national consciousness and a desire for independence. This was in my view the condition which justified ending the trust—but I would also argue that, in a long view of history, India profited by some degree from British obstinacy over naming the day. India did learn, during the 'Reforms' period, roughly 1919–39, something of local government and democratic processes, while at the same time building up a corps of first-class administrators. Even more important, the Congress party acquired in its frustration a unity that it was apt to lose in prosperity. Against this—among other contrary factors—must be set the growing separatism of the Muslims. It was an accelerating process, with the advantages of a longer stay diminishing more and more rapidly while the contrary factors grew more and more compelling.

This is a long way, you may say, from James Skinner. But if I am right in arguing that anarchy in Hindustan and central India justified intervention and the establishment of a trust, to be terminated when certain conditions were met, then it follows that one day disengagement had to be effected. And disengagement was possible from India—an immense empire—as it has not been from Rhodesia and Ulster, where the numbers involved are so much less, precisely because there was in India no large body of 'settlers', people who had a permanent interest in the country but who could not identify themselves with the majority. And that was because the British had not established—as was proposed in Kipling's day—a colony of ex-soldiers in Kashmir, because the ruling officials had been a very small group who came from Britain and expected to go back there, because there were not many 'country-born' and because they had no powerful interests. Does that outweigh the injustice to James Skinner?

The magic that had clung to the Mughal emperors had gone by 1947 but what had made them the Kings on the chess-board was the desire for peace, stability, permanent authority. And this remained. Nehru has been called the last British Viceroy; he might also be called the last Mughal emperor. If the emperors had been symbols for security, so too was Queen Victoria. Some shadowy allegiance was transferred to her and without it the Victorian peace would not have

been possible; some of it again, revived and refreshed by nationalist fervour, made part of the tribute paid to Nehru.

Indians are not alone among mankind in wanting stability but their history has made them want it more than most.

SAYYID AHMAD DEHLAVI AND THE 'DELHI RENAISSANCE'

GAIL MINAULT

Bahadur Shah Zafar once lamented:[1]

نہ تو میں کسی کا حبیب ہوں، نہ تو میں کسی کا رقیب ہوں
جو بگڑ گیا وہ نصیب ہوں، جو اُجڑ گیا وہ دیار ہوں
I am no one's beloved, no one's mate;
My realm is ravaged, misfortune's my fate.

Zafar was describing his inner feelings, but as the symbol of Muslim rule in India, he could equally well have been referring to the decline of that authority, or more literally, to the desolate state of his capital, Delhi: Once the centre from which emanated temporal and religious legitimacy for most of India, the *dar al-khilafat*, Delhi in the time of Zafar was the *shahr-e-ashub*, the city of misfortune. Sacked by Nadir Shah in 1739, plundered on numerous occasions thereafter, its suburbs deserted and ruined, its royal court a pale reflection of its former state, Delhi had become the symbol of decline. Yet Delhi, like its later emperors, suffered this disgrace with dignity.[2] In fact, the middle years of the nineteenth century were a period of intellectual and cultural vitality in the Mughal capital. This was the age of the poet Ghalib, his rival Zauq, and of course Zafar; it was a time of religious reform and revival centered on the successors of Shah Waliullah, and it marked the beginning of western influence on the culture of northern India as well.

One explanation for the intellectual vitality of Delhi during the generation before 1857 centers on this latter trend: *Pax Britannica* had replaced the turbulence of the previous century, and British administrators and missionaries imported new learning from the west. Under the impact of these influences, a 'Delhi renaissance' developed, similar to the Bengal renaissance then taking place in the cosmopolitan

atmosphere of Calcutta, although the Delhi renaissance was a poor, up-country version of that dynamic example of cultural interaction. This analysis also finds that the creativity engendered by the contact between indigenous and western learning in Delhi was brought to a sudden and violent end by the revolt of 1857, which shattered the English peace, led to the sack of Delhi, the banishment of the last Mughal, and the death or diaspora of many of the intellectual figures of the time.[3]

While the comparison between Delhi and Calcutta may be useful for analytic purposes, one must also be aware of the contrasts as well as similarities in the cultural milieux of the two areas. Certainly, *Pax Britannica* provided an opportunity for renewed attention to the life of the mind and spirit in early nineteenth-century Delhi. The establishment of British administration in the region offered new opportunities to the sons of families who had previously served the Mughal court. Western education acquired an institutional base with the founding of the English section of Delhi College in 1827. There, under the aegis of Principal Taylor and the Indian Christian professors Ramchandra and Chiman Lal, students were introduced to nineteenth-century western science and mathematics. The study of English language, literature, and philosophy, however, did not flourish at Delhi College. Most students pursued literary studies in Arabic and Persian, through the medium of Urdu, with Maulvis Imam Bakhsh and Mamluk Ali of the Oriental section of the college.[4]

It is tempting to point to this fact to explain why the effects of the new learning were limited in Delhi. There was none of the religious ferment and social reform activism of the sort seen in Calcutta, because the influence of western ideas, as opposed to western science, was limited in Delhi. This explanation, however, simply raises another question: Why were the English language and the ideas contained in its literature not studied and adopted? One possible answer is that knowing English was simply not necessary, at least as far as employment in the British administration was concerned. Urdu was still the language of administration in northern India, and thus a traditional education, plus personal connections, were sufficient to gain access to jobs in the administrative hierarchy.[5]

Another answer has to do with the structure of the élite involved in the process of renascence. The Bengali *bhadralok* was a newly emergent group, composed of individuals from different castes, most of whom had come to Calcutta from outlying areas in search of the

new opportunities available in the British-dominated city.[6] Leading members of the *bhadralok* may have come from groups whose traditional status in society predisposed them to take advantage of new opportunities, but the fact remains that they owed their new wealth and position in society to commerce with, or service to, the British.[7]

The structure of the north Indian *ashraf* was another story. The Mughal emperor still occupied his throne, and members of the *ashraf* linked to him by generations of service still lived in their family *mahals*. The political realities had changed, to be sure, but the old customs and etiquette of *sharif* culture persisted. If cultural continuity prevailed, so too did a sense of continuity in the structure of economic opportunity, for individual ability or virtuosity had always been rewarded in the Mughal system. In patron–client relationships, individuals might pass away, but the structure remained the same. One might even say that the reason for the strong sense of continuity was because there was room for change and mobility within the old system. Similarly, in other structures of society, one found a prevalence of personal loyalties, kinship or kin-like ties, whether in political alliances, business partnerships, discipleship to Sufi *pirs*, or apprenticeship to learned *ustads*.[8] The personalized institutions of *sharif* culture made for a segmented, volatile society, but one which could accommodate change without disturbing its basic assumptions. One should not assume, however, that the *ashraf* of Delhi were complacent. The sense of political and cultural decline was palpable in nineteenth-century Delhi, as Zafar's couplet at the outset makes painfully clear, but here again, the incentives to change were indigenous and led to efforts to find indigenously-based solutions.

Another answer to the question why British ideas did not catch on in Delhi in the generation before 1857 has to do with the different nature of the 'renaissance' itself in northern India. For the Bengali *bhadralok*, the influence of western ideas was decisive because British orientalism in its heyday provided both the scholarly documentation and an ideological framework for the Bengalis themselves to re-examine the sources of their culture, and to find material therein for reinterpretation and renewal.[9] By the time British orientalism had filtered through to northern India its influence on British educational policy was on the wane, but more significantly, north-Indian Muslims had their own tradition of cultural re-examination and reform. This tradition went back to the work of Shah Waliullah of Delhi in the

eighteenth century, or perhaps further back to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi in the seventeenth. The Madrasa-e-Rahimiya in Delhi carried on the work of Waliullah's line of scholar-sufis who sought to rid Indian Islam of false accretions and to re-examine the sources of the faith, the Quran and *hadith*, for new sources of strength and inspiration, both political and religious.[10] In fact, Mamluk Ali Nanotavi, who taught Arabic at Delhi College, was a disciple of the Waliullah school.[11]

For these reasons, because it took place in the vernacular and because its sources of inspiration were more indigenous than imported, the Delhi renaissance has either been compared unfavourably with the Bengal renaissance, or has been ignored altogether by western scholars. Our object here is to characterize the Delhi renaissance, to single out some of its major figures and their intellectual contributions, and to look in somewhat more detail at the work of Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi (1846–1918). The latter, though born before 1857, grew to maturity during the succeeding generation, and his work was thus proof that the Delhi renaissance by no means came to an end, either with a bang or a whimper, in 1857. The shattering of the English peace brought about a diaspora of Delhi intellectuals, but the indigenous wellsprings of their thought insured that their work continued in Aligarh, Deoband, Lahore, and in Delhi itself. The end of the dynasty meant that the élite associated with Mughal rule had to adapt to British rule, but many had already done so. For many of them also, Queen Victoria, the *malika-e-muazzama*, replaced the Mughal as the object of their dynastic loyalty.[12] The continuities of thought among the Muslim élite were as important as the discontinuities.

The Delhi renaissance shared certain characteristics with its Bengal counterpart: a concern for education, for propagation of ideas of religious reform, and for the status and dignity of women. But the Delhi renaissance was a movement of preservation as well as revitalization, and this difference in motivation is the greatest point of contrast between the two movements.

The thinking of Delhi renaissance men can best be understood in relation to their attitude toward vernacular education. All the men to be discussed here emphasised education as the chief means to Muslim advancement. Though most had a traditional education, they came into contact with western ideas in translation in their lives. They were not averse to learning English, but saw it as a subsidiary subject in a

revived vernacular curriculum. Their devotion to vernacular education also included a concern for the education of women, which was coupled in their minds with concern for the continued solidarity of the Muslim family. The education of women, if it took place at all, was imparted by private tutors in the home. The rise of school education in the English medium caused a decline in the patronage available for vernacular education. This in turn meant that private tutors, whether grey-beards or *ustanis*, were increasingly hard to find. The result was that, in *ashraf* families where women's education had been traditional, female education declined. This could only have serious repercussions on the quality of family life. Given the kin-like nature of linkages in the society, a decline in family solidarity would also have a deleterious effect on *sharif* culture as a whole. In Muslim Delhi, the ambivalence toward the advantages of the new education was greater than in Bengal, the desire for continuity correspondingly greater.

Nevertheless, Delhi renaissance men served the British government as officials, judges, teachers, and as inspectors in the Education Department. They founded schools, wrote books and textbooks, translated English works into Urdu, and edited journals. A good many of these publications were concerned with women's education and the status of women in the Muslim family. As authors and scholars, they fostered the development of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of northern India with a simplified, more accessible style than the flowery, Persianized Urdu of the Mughal court. Like the Bengal renaissance, the Delhi movement also fostered linguistic scholarship: grammars, dictionaries, collections of epigraphy and ethnography were published.

An outstanding example of a Delhi renaissance man was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). The work for which he is best known took place in Aligarh, but it seems fair to claim him for Delhi. He was born and educated there, began his service in the British administration there, and from 1846 to 1854 served in Delhi as *sadr amin*. During that tour of duty he wrote *Asar us-Sanadid*, a study of the ruins and extant monuments of the city. He was helped in his careful study of the inscriptions on various monuments by Maulvi Imam Bakhsh of Delhi College.[13] A number of buildings which Sir Sayyid described in *Asar* did not survive the sack of Delhi, and hence the work is one of the best records of the pre-1857 city and its society.[14] *Asar us-Sanadid* established Sir Sayyid's reputation as an author and

scholar and was followed by a torrent of other works throughout his active career, notably his many articles dealing with education and social reform written for the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *Tahzib ul-Akhlaq*.[15]

The events of 1857 in Delhi were particularly traumatic for Sir Sayyid for his family property was destroyed, and his mother died as a result of deprivations suffered during the siege. These painful memories may have contributed to his later decision to found his college in Aligarh. More decisive were an active group of local landed magnates in Aligarh who supported his educational efforts, a grant of land from the government on which to build his school, and the tranquil atmosphere of Aligarh, more conducive to the scholarly activity of the 'Muslim Cambridge' he envisaged than the excitement of an urban area. Students from Delhi made up the largest contingent at the college in its early years, however, and it is easy to see in the original plans for the college, which was to include both Oriental and English sections, the model of the old Delhi College intermixed with visions of Oxbridge.[16]

The reformist *ulama* of Delhi were also concerned with improving vernacular education and especially with the propagation of a purified form of Islam which would serve not only as a guide for individuals' lives, but also as a source of solidarity for a renascent Muslim community. The *madrasa* at Deoband, staffed by disciples of the Waliullah school can be seen as a transplantation of the ideas of religious reform of the Delhi renaissance to a calmer setting. A number of the founders of Deoband had attended Delhi College or served in the government Education Department. The connecting links between the ideas of the Delhi renaissance and Deoband are quite clear.[17]

In addition to Sir Sayyid, a younger group of renaissance men grew up in Delhi in the decades prior to the 1857 revolt and continued their educational and literary work thereafter. The careers of two former students of Delhi College, Zakaullah (1832–1910) and Nazir Ahmad (1830–1912), plus their contemporary, Altaf Husain 'Hali' (1837–1914), will be outlined here as examples of the intellectual pattern sketched above.

Zakaullah came from a family of scholars. His father served as the tutor to the youngest son of Bahadur Shah. Zakaullah attended Delhi College and became the favourite student of Ramchandra, the mathematics professor. He then taught mathematics at Delhi College,

went on to serve as Professor of Persian and Urdu at Agra College, and later returned to Delhi as Head Teacher of Delhi Normal School, completing his career as Professor of Persian and Arabic at Muir Central College, Allahabad. During his career and his long retirement, Zakaullah turned out an astonishing number of Urdu works, original and translated textbooks of mathematics, physics, history, geography, and ethics. He wrote a history of British rule in India during the reign of Queen Victoria, whom he greatly admired. He also contributed articles to Urdu educational journals and championed education for girls as well as boys. His style was simple, straightforward, even pedestrian. Zakaullah dedicated his life to the spread of eduction in the vernacular. Though he was an admirer and supporter of Sir Sayyid, he was very disappointed by the triumph of the Anglicists at Aligarh, for he felt that true education and advancement in India could not be achieved through the medium of a foreign language.[18]

Nazir Ahmad was born in Bijnor district to a family of Islamic scholars and came to Delhi as a boy to study with Maulvi Mamluk Ali in the Oriental section of Delhi College. Nazir Ahmad's father did not want him to study English, but he did study mathematics at Delhi College and became a close friend of Zakaullah. Like the latter, he went into the government education service, serving first in the Panjab as a teacher and Deputy Inspector, and later as Inspector of Schools in Allahabad. Nazir Ahmad only then learned English, helped translate the Indian Penal Code, was promoted to Tehsildar and finally to Deputy Collector. After a period of honourable and lucrative service in the Nizam's government in Hyderabad, he returned to retire in Delhi. Throughout his career he wrote prolifically in several genres and is especially known as an Urdu novelist. To judge him as a novelist, however, is to obscure his own vision of himself as primarily an educator. His best-known novels, *Mirat ul-Arus* (The Bride's Mirror), *Banat un-Nash* (Daughters of the Bier), and *Taubat un-Nasuh* (The Repentance of Nasuh) are didactic guides for young wives, praising the values of education, astute household management, pious living, and skilful diplomacy in interpersonal relationships. His style, like his personality, was energetic and realistic, sometimes transcending his moralism. His language was idiomatic, reflecting the speech of his characters, many of them women who were portrayed as strong, capable, the guiding lights of their families. Nazir Ahmad's educational interests also made him one of Sir Sayyid's most enthusiastic supporters.[19]

A contemporary of these two was Khwaja Altaf Husain of Panipat, known by his poetic *takhallus* of 'Hali'. Hali came to Delhi as a young man to sit at Ghalib's feet. Following the upheaval of 1857, Hali secured a post in the Government Book Depot in Lahore, revising translations from English into Urdu for the Education Department. This indirect contact with English prose led him to simplify his formerly ornate style and seek a more individualized form of expression. Hali and Muhammad Husain Azad (another Delhi College graduate) were both active in poetic and literary circles in Lahore until Hali returned to Delhi in the mid-1870s to a teaching post at the Delhi Anglo-Arabic school. He met Sir Sayyid shortly thereafter, and the latter persuaded him to write his most famous poem: *Musaddas: Madd o Jazr-e-Islam* (The Ebb and Flow of Islam). In it, Hali described the past glories of Islam, the decline into which his community had fallen, and called upon Muslims to live up to their great past by taking a prominent place in present events.[20]

Another of Hali's didactic works was written to promote women's education. *Majalis un-Nissa* was in the form of conversations among the upper middle-class women of Delhi, and was written in a colloquial style, using the idioms of *begamati zuban*, the language of women. If the style was designed to reach a specific audience, so was the content: The women characters in his dialogue argued that women should be educated because they were the real managers of the household, the focus of family life, responsible for the early religious and secular training of the children. The education Hali outlined was the traditional vernacular curriculum, including Persian and Arabic grammar, calligraphy, and arithmetic, plus a rigorous practical training in household management.[21] Like the novels of Nazir Ahmad, Hali's *Majalis un-Nissa* showed that in their own sphere, women could be extremely capable and influential individuals. But if vernacular education continued to decline, women's position in the family would be undermined, and the cohesion of the Muslim family seriously endangered. Hali emphasised that women were the chief agents of cultural continuity. In an age when the men were forsaking their culture for the loaves and fishes of the British Raj, it was more than ever necessary for the women to be anchored in their own religion and culture. This would not cause further dislocation, but would rather supply the cultural self-confidence which the community needed to advance.

Younger than all these Delhi renaissance men was Sayyid Ahmad

Dehlavi (1846–1918). Sayyid Ahmad was too young to have been intellectually productive before the revolt, and yet his career follows the pattern outlined above. His father, Sayyid Abdur Rahman Monghyri, was from a scholarly family in Bihar, and came to Delhi as a disciple of Shah Ismail Shahid and Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, the *Mujahidin* leaders. Sayyid Abdur Rahman was thus closely associated with the militants among the descendants of Shah Waliullah. Following the death of his preceptors in 1831, Abdur Rahman settled in Delhi, married into a family of *ulama* in the Arab Sarai suburb, and served as a tutor in several noble houses and as the *pesh imam* of a mosque.[22] Sayyid Ahmad was born into this scholarly family, educated privately and at Delhi Normal School. He served the government in various capacities, as Superintendent of the Ethnographic Survey in Delhi, and later as Head Maulvi at Simla High School. Early in his career, through a family connection, he met S. W. Fallon, Inspector of Schools in Bihar, and aided him with his English–Urdu dictionary. His interest in the study of language grew, and he began collecting material for the work which made his reputation, a four-volume dictionary of Urdu, the *Farhang-e-Asafiya*, of which the first volume was published in 1892 under the patronage of the Nizam of Hyderabad. For these labours, Sayyid Ahmad received monthly stipends both from the Nizam's government and the British and was able to live in Delhi and devote his time to scholarship and writing.[23]

More relevant to his position in the Delhi renaissance, however, were Sayyid Ahmad's works dealing with the culture and language of Delhi. These works grew out of his linguistic research, during which he also collected material concerning household customs, life cycle rituals, and the idioms of the *zenana*. Many of these works were written as textbooks for women's education, and deal with such topics as styles of letter writing, etiquette, and household management. In 1875, at Fallon's suggestion, Sayyid Ahmad wrote *Insha-e-Hadi un-Nissa*, a guide to letter writing for women. This work was adopted as a textbook in vernacular and Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in the Panjab and reissued several times thereafter. *Hadi un-Nissa* was quite revolutionary for its time, since in 1875 it was not considered proper for Muslim girls to learn how to write. Reading and arithmetic were acceptable, but if a woman in purdah learned how to write letters, the fear was she might communicate with men beyond the permissible circle of kin. Sayyid Ahmad stays well within that circle, with models of letters to parents, grandparents, children,

exchanges of letters between husband and wife, notes to sisters, cousins, and servants. There are models for greetings, congratulations on childbirth, condolences, even business letters. The letters contain family gossip, proverbs, discussion of customs, ceremonies, and children's games. The whole work is written in *begamati zuban*, the informal, colloquial language of the women's quarters.[24] In 1885, Sayyid Ahmad tried publishing a bi-weekly journal specifically for women, the *Akhbar un-Nissa*. The reaction was so hostile, and attacks on him so savage, that he gave it up.[25]

Sayyid Ahmad's other works written for women include *Rahat Zamani ki Mazedar Kahani*, a didactic tale against wasting time; *Taskhir-e-Shauhar*, advice on how to keep one's husband obedient;[26] *Akhlaq un-Nissa*, a book on child care; and *Qissa-e-Mahr Afroz*, a tale dealing with the culture and customs of the late Mughal court, written in the language of the women of the imperial family.[27] In addition to carrying on the didactic tradition of Nazir Ahmad and Hali, these works contain rich ethnographic and linguistic material. Sayyid Ahmad wrote in simple, if highly idiomatic Urdu, and his feel for women's language, their gossip and quarrels, gives his work great vitality and authenticity. Sayyid Ahmad also compiled a dictionary of *begamati zuban*, the *Lughat un-Nissa*, published in 1917 under the patronage of the Begam of Bhopal. In it, he included examples of the idioms, expressions, and styles of speech of the 'imperial princesses, *sharif* ladies, and Hindu women'.[28]

Sayyid Ahmad's best known work after the *Farhang-e-Asafiya* is *Rasum-e-Dehli* published in 1905, a description of the customs and life rituals of the *ashraf* of Delhi. In form, it resembles the *Qanun-e-Islam* of Jafar Sharif, an account of the customs of Hyderabad Muslims which was translated by G. Z. Hercklots in the 1830s. No one, to my knowledge, has translated *Rasum-e-Dehli*, nor compared the customary observations described in the two works. In *Rasum-e-Dehli*, Sayyid Ahmad lists the customs and rites associated with childbirth, subsequent birthdays, the beginning and completion of Quranic study (Bismillah and Ameen), betrothal, marriage (with customs for both bride's and groom's sides), customs associated with travel, for various feasts and festivals (Id, Muharram, etc.), greetings for various occasions, funeral customs, and includes a glossary at the end.[29]

Rasum-e-Dehli is a gold-mine of information, but it is not a guide for participants (as was Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanavi's reforming

tome, *Bahishti Zevar*, for example).[30] Rather, it is a work of cultural preservation. As a result of the religious reform movements which grew out of the Delhi renaissance, many customs which were non-Islamic in origin were under attack or were dying out, as were many of the words associated with those customs. With the spread of women's education, the isolation of the *zenana* was breaking down and so too, inevitably, was much of its cultural distinctiveness which was syncretic in character. In his forward to *Rasum-e-Dehli*, Sayyid Ahmad points out the Hindu origins of many of the household rituals, and his analysis of cultural syncretism would place him in the ranks of professional anthropologists.[31] As one associated with the reformist *ulama*, Sayyid Ahmad could expect his study to contribute to the reform, even extinction, of many of the customs he records. Sayyid Ahmad's dictionaries, glossaries, and patient listing of customs, rituals, and idioms grew out of the Delhi renaissance but were also, in a sense, its final chapter. If the Delhi renaissance sought to preserve *sharif* culture by reforming it, Sayyid Ahmad sensed that something was being lost in the process, and he sought to preserve that elusive quality by freezing it.

NOTES

1. Bahadur Shah Zafar, *Nava-e-Zafar*, ed. Khalilur Rahman Azmi (Aligarh, 1958), p. 269.
2. Delhi in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is portrayed in Percival Spear's classic, *Twilight of the Mughals* (reprint, Delhi, 1969); see also his 'Ghalib's Delhi' in Ralph Russell ed., *Ghalib: The Poet and His Age* (London, 1972), pp. 36–53.
3. C. F. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (reprint, Lahore, 1976).
4. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah*, pp. 34–46; Abdul Haq, *Marhom Dehli College* (Karachi, 1962), pp. 154–63.
5. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation* (Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 68–71, 80.
6. S. N. Mukherjee, 'Caste, Class, and Politics in Calcutta, 1815–1838', in Edmund Leach and S. N. Mukherjee ed., *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 33–78.
7. J. H. Broomfield, 'The Regional Elites: A Theory of Modern Indian History', *IESHR*, III, 3 (September, 1966), pp. 279–90.
8. Lelyveld, *Aligarh*, pp. 35–68.
9. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (University of California Press, 1969), pp. 22–42.

10. Barbara Metcalf's article in this volume goes into further detail on the *ulama* of Delhi; see also her work on the Deoband *ulama* cited in note 17 below.
11. Abdul Haq, *Marhom Dehli College*, p. 159.
12. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah*, pp. 103–16; Altaf Husain Hali, *Majalis un-Nissa* (Panipat, 1924), Pt. II, pp. 5–8.
13. Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature* (reprint, Lahore, 1975), p. 300.
14. C. W. Troll, 'A Note on an Early Topographical Work of Sayyid Ahmad Khan: *Asar al-Sanadid*', *JRAS* (1972), pp. 135–46.
15. Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, pp. 269–72.
16. Lelyveld, *Aligarh*, chaps. III and IV.
17. Barbara Metcalf, 'The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model for Religions in Modern India', *Modern Asian Studies*, XII, 1 (1978), pp. 111–34; and her forthcoming book on the Deoband *madrasa* (Princeton University Press).
18. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah*, pp. 89–166; Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, pp. 295–9.
19. Saksena, pp. 282–7; Ralph Russell, 'The Development of the Modern Novel in Urdu', in T. W. Clark ed., *The Novel in India* (London, 1970), pp. 117–22; Lelyveld, *Aligarh*, pp. 56–8; C. M. Naim, 'Prize-Winning Adab', paper presented at a Conference on Moral Authority in Islam, University of California, Berkeley, June 1979, pp. 13–31.
20. Saleha Abid Husain, *Yadgar-e-Hali* (fourth ed., New Delhi, 1975); Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, pp. 210–19, 279–82; S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1970), pp. 59–71.
21. Hali, *Majalis un-Nissa*, Pt. I, pp. 80–9, 102; Gail Minault, 'Hali's *Majalis un-Nissa*: Purdah and Woman Power in Nineteenth Century India', in M. Israel ed., *Memorial Volume in Honor of Aziz Ahmad* (University of Toronto Press), forthcoming.
22. Sayyid Yusuf Bukhari, 'Maulvi Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi', introduction to Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Rasum-e-Dehli* (reprint, Delhi, 1975), pp. 13–15.
23. Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, pp. 304–6.
24. Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Insha-e-Hadi un-Nissa ma Tahrir un-Nissa* (Delhi, sixth ed., 1910).
25. This journal, however, served as an inspiration to Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, who founded *Tahzib-e-Niswan*, a weekly journal for women, in Lahore in 1898. *Tahzib-e-Niswan*, Jubilee Number, XX (July 1918), p. 430.
26. This was originally published in 1910 in *Ismat*, a literary journal for women founded in Delhi in 1908 by Rashidul Khairi, another Delhi litterateur and reformer. The journal is published from Karachi since Partition, edited by Raziqul Khairi, the founder's son.
27. Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, p. 305; Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Rahat Zamani ki Mazedar Kahani* (Delhi, 1910); Idem., *Sajun Mohini, yani Taskhir-e-Shauhar* (Delhi, 1910); Idem., *Qissa-e-Mahr Afroz* (Delhi, 1911).
28. Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Lughat un-Nissa* (Delhi, 1917).
29. Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Rasum-e-Dehli*, *passim*.
30. Barbara Metcalf, 'The Making of a Muslim Lady: Maulana Thanavi's *Bahishti Zevar*', in Israel ed., *Memorial Volume in Honor of Aziz Ahmad*, forthcoming.
31. Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi, *Rasum-e-Dehli*, pp. 37–41.

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN
Rais of Delhi and Muslim 'Leader'

BARBARA D. METCALF

The learned let flow the river of learning, then went on;
The preachers of our race awoke the sleeping, then went on;
Some spoke well, showed their magic, then went on;
Some were messiahs, raised the dead, then went on;

One plank of your broken boat remained to you;
The flood of death, *O Delhi*, took it off too.

O City, it seems from you has gone the greatness of the race;
Departed now long since is the honour of the race;
But wait—Mahmud Khan's strength was an honour to our race.
But he, too, left the world. Alas, the fortune of our race!

What will you show now to recall the former times? Well?
In whom will you take pride now, *O Jahanabad*? Well?

Altaf Husain Hali, on the death of Hakim Mahmud Khan, 1900[1]

Physicians of indigenous medicine have long brought distinction to the city of Delhi. Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863–1927) was the son of the Mahmud Khan celebrated above. He is known to students of modern India for his efforts to professionalize Islamic medicine (*yunani tibb*) and for his involvement in nationalist politics, particularly in the years immediately following World War I when he worked closely with Gandhi and others committed to Hindu–Muslim unity in the nationalist movement. Ajmal Khan's life exemplifies qualities characteristic of the notables—the *rais*—of Delhi of his times. Social leadership like his was based on professional skills and, above all, on personal qualities that together provided a standing quite apart from any formal office or political position. It is thus wholly apt that toward the end of his life Ajmal Khan was spoken of as 'a king without a crown'.

Both Ajmal Khan and his father were towering figures in the city of Delhi. Professionally, both were considered unrivalled in their ability

to effect seemingly miraculous cures. Socially they were part of the cosmopolitan Persianate culture of the old Mughal capital, men of refinement, cultivated tastes, and accomplishments. Ajmal Khan, as a poet, was known as Shahid Dihlawi ('the possessed lover from Delhi') and was the author of a substantial *diwan*.[2] Most of Ajmal Khan's friends were Muslim, but true to the ethos of this world, his circle included Hindus, too, and even a few British, men like C. F. Andrews and Lord Hardinge, who valued the culture of Delhi's élite and were at least on its fringe.[3] On religious matters, Ajmal Khan outspokenly deplored the reformist religious movements of his time; he saw them as sectarian and divisive.[4] The father, and even more the son, participated in the changing political structures of their times. The British officials of Delhi long regarded both as men of good sense and modern inclination.

Ajmal Khan's public career evenly spanned the four decades at the turn of the century. In this period, effectiveness as a local notable was increasingly enhanced by effectiveness in a larger arena. Ajmal Khan in this period moved to create central institutions for indigenous medicine and its practitioners, and became himself a national figure. His widening circles of influence point to significant developments in the history of Delhi and of India in general. In part the institutions Ajmal Khan was associated with represent developments within pre-existing structures, like the family; and in part they represent the creation of new, formally organized institutions based on shared interests rather than origin, and organized for a wide variety of political, educational, and social ends. These institutions were made both possible and necessary by new developments in communication and transportation on the one hand and a new structure of political life on the other.

Ajmal Khan was motivated in his endeavours by the view of Muslim decline that inspired Hali's verses above. His concern for the preservation of his art was closely linked to his concern for Muslim status and welfare. This did not conflict with his close relations with non-Muslims and his desire to work closely with them for shared purposes. His measures for the preservation and encouragement of indigenous Muslim medicine were not an isolated endeavour, but one of many movements for cultural self-esteem in this period of alien rule. The revival of medicine was notable among the many movements of this period because it involved a great deal of interaction with its western counterpart and because medicine was not a religious

but a communal symbol of Muslim society. The institutional and intellectual developments in medicine in this period reflect these two characteristics.

Part of Ajmal Khan's effectiveness derived from his belonging to a distinguished and respected family. Although perceived as an unchanging institution, the family in fact took on new importance for those engaged in cultural activities like music and medicine at this time. The great scholars and artists, particularly those in Delhi, had depended on patronage from the royal court and from nobles associated with it. With the end of this patronage, they adopted new strategies to sustain themselves, of which one was to place far greater emphasis on the family as an institution and focus of identity. Exactly when the title 'sharifi' to identify Ajmal Khan's family came into common usage, for example, is not clear. It harks back, however, only to the great *hakim*, Sharif Khan (d. 1790) who flourished in the eighteenth century; built the family mansion and mosque in Ballimaran, the street of poets and *hakims*; and wrote widely on a range of scholarly subjects.[5] In the second half of the nineteenth century, at exactly the same time and for the same reasons that the *gharanas* of musicians became important, physicians focused more centrally on their lineage and their past, in this case producing memoranda and biographies to help shape a sense of their corporate identity.[6] Hakim Mahmud Khan's *Dar hal-i bazurgan-i khandani wa sar guzasht-i khud*, written in Persian, established the arrival of the family in the subcontinent at the time of the emperor Babar; and his sons, including Ajmal Khan, investigated such questions as the places where later members of the family settled. Biographies of Ajmal Khan inevitably begin with a survey of his lineage and can claim, as at least one does, that for three hundred years there was an unbroken succession of distinguished doctors.[7]

The advantages of a family identity were clear. It provided a focus for reputation and recognition, particularly important as *hakims* came to travel more widely in a new era of transportation and foreign rule, in search of patrons instead of staying in Delhi. It also provided for control of education, 'quality control' in locating instruction within a single family of repute: a scion of the *sharifi khandan* could expect recognition for superior training. The family focus could also keep professional secrets private since in both medicine and music it had come to be understood that the great families had esoteric techniques to create the magic that both arts sometimes seemed to possess.[8]

In medicine, however, far more vulnerable to the competition of a Western system, the institution of the family came to be perceived as insufficient. In the case of medicine and music both, in fact, the late nineteenth century saw the foundation of formally organized schools. But these were to go much further in medicine than in music in becoming the most significant arena of education.[9] Nonetheless, respect for family accomplishment and heritage continued to be of great importance; and for a *hakim* to be known as part of one of the great Delhi families—the families not only of Sharif Khan but of Hakim Baqaullah, Hakim Talib Ahmad, and Hakim Ghulam Najf Khan—was an important claim to recognition even as schools and organizations developed.[10] The British, for example, thought of Ajmal Khan at the centre of an influential family network. When in 1916 he submitted, at their request, a list of distinguished *hakims* of Delhi, the Chief Commissioner immediately tallied up that over a sixth of the forty-two names were of the family and another third of people trained in their school.[11]

Reform in medicine, as in religious education, involved new institutions. In 1889, inspired by the new college at Aligarh, Ajmal Khan's elder brother, Hakim Abdul Majid, opened a new school in an attempt to make the family-base of instruction more formal and coherent.[12] The teachers were the family and the school remained in Ballimaran. Even then there was opposition directed primarily toward the family's insistence that *yunani* medicine must be open to Western techniques, notably in surgery and anatomy. Characteristic of Islam, where a legal idiom permeates all realms, this was judged a reprehensible innovation, *bida*, and the *sharifi* family was denounced as *kafir* and *murtid*. The family launched yet another tool of more extensive influence, the newspaper *Akmal ul-akhbar* managed by a Hindu disciple of the poet Ghalib. It was meant to defend reform in medicine and to survey political and cultural issues generally. In 1902 Ajmal Khan began a second publication, the *Mujalla-yi tibbiya*, a monthly with news of the school and essays on *tibb*.[13]

From the beginning there was concern over financial support for the school. The brothers moved to found a pharmacy, a *dawakhana*, that would provide both *yunani* and *ayurvedic* medications. At first a joint stock company, it was later made a pious endowment vested in the *madrasa*. It was significant in two ways. First, it meant the end of

family secrets since all the family remedies were given over to the *dawakhana*. Second, it anticipated a standardization of medicines instead of the highly particularized compounding of remedies for each patient on the basis of his constitution and environment. The *hakims* of course continued to prescribe for each patient, but the existence of a separate manufactory was a first step toward the patent medicine available now. Known as the Hindustani Dawakhana, its elegant building in Ballimaran was opened by Raja Kishan Kumar in 1910.[14] It had branches all over India.[15]

In 1901 Ajmal Khan's eldest brother died; the middle brother died three years later. At that point, Ajmal Khan took the central role in the school and its related activities. In that same year he made an appeal for funds for the school at the Delhi town hall, with the deputy commissioner present, citing proudly the number of graduates (some sixty-five) and pointing out the service to the *watn*, the homeland, such education provided. In 1906, he founded a Tibbi Conference to tie physicians together and to disseminate his arguments on the need to reform medicine: to know the classic books; to be open to new problems and solutions; to develop the indigenous pharmacopia; and to join with *vaids* (doctors of *ayurvedic* medicine) in common concerns.

Ajmal Khan and his fellow reformers directed their efforts toward other Indians in order to deny other practitioners legitimacy, and toward the British in order to gain recognition from them. They strongly opposed the practitioners of unsystematic folk medicine, often midwives and other women. The ninth book of the reformist *Bihishti Zewar*, an encyclopaedic work directed toward women, sets out the principles of scientific medicine precisely for this reason. Because of this concern, it is not as surprising as it might seem that in 1908 a department for women was opened at the school. It was never well attended, but it set the precedent that still continues of educating women in high culture medicine. A second internal target was little-educated *hakims* and *vaids* who claimed learning and recognition. The Tibbi Conference and later organizations fought to claim a monopoly of legitimacy for those educated in their institutions. They were not only concerned about out-and-out quacks, but about those who attended second-rate institutions. They periodically called on the government for help in what proved an intractable problem. In 1925, for example, there was a protest against the indiscriminate hiring of indigenous practitioners by the Delhi municipality and a

complaint of lack of differentiation 'between the Hakims and Vaids who have not qualified themselves in any recognized and regular institutions and those who have done so, and among the latter between the diploma holders of those institutions whose course of study extends over *four* years [and those of two].'[16] Ajmal Khan had little patience with those who did not educate themselves well: 'The class referred to [as incompetent] have only themselves to blame if they have failed to raise the standard of their attainments.'[17]

The reformers never made out that their target practices originated in the Hindu tradition. This distinguishes them from Muslim reformers in most other areas. In part this was because the challenge to the *yunani* system was perceived not as *ayurvedic* but Western medicine. To answer that, not only were techniques to be borrowed from Western doctors, but equivalence was to be created, both theoretical equivalence by emphasizing *yunani* theory, and institutional equivalence through professionalization. For that to be possible, at least minimal recognition was necessary from the government.

For over a decade, beginning in 1908, Western medicine challenged a specific issue, the attempt by British and Indian allopathic physicians (as they were called) to secure Registration Acts in each province, so that no doctor of indigenous medicine could be legally recognized to give testimony in legal disputes, to certify illness for workers, or to perform any other legally required function.[18] Ajmal Khan saw this attempt at establishing a monopoly in legitimacy as the death-knell to his profession. He lobbied extensively against the acts, and in 1910 he created the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia Conference, an outgrowth of the earlier Tibbi Conference, to enlarge the organization of *hakims* beyond family units and to offer a united voice to the government. That voice, joined later by the Trustees of the College, insisted on the legitimacy of indigenous systems and set standards for indigenous practitioners to make them worthy, as they understood it, of recognition.

As Ajmal Khan's institutional base grew stronger and encompassed a wider geographical area, opposition to him increased, particularly from the *hakims* of Lucknow. Although they objected to co-operation with *vaids* as potentially damaging to their system, this was not matched by any effort to expunge the elements that had evolved in *tibb* in the Indian environment. The real issue appears to have been geographic rivalry. The Lucknow physicians felt that these new institutions threatened their prestige to the benefit of the Delhi

doctors—a rivalry, as one writer noted, well known to poets of the two cities, but hardly to physicians![19] In 1911 the annual meeting of the new conference was held in Lucknow itself and Ajmal Khan drew on medical metaphors to make his points: As in the body each part is dependent on the other, so now all must work together—the League, the Congress, the *vaid* and the *tabib*. Ajmal Khan insisted that the conference was not an organization limited to Delhi, but a nation-wide one; and it continued to meet outside Delhi in places that included Amritsar, Lucknow again, Patna, Rampur, and Karachi.

Ajmal Khan continued to be concerned with the *madrasa* in Delhi whose status he wanted to raise to that of a national college teaching both *yunani* and *ayurvedic* medicine. A trip to Europe in 1911 convinced him of the importance of institutions like the ones he saw there. The decision to move the capital to Delhi, a move he interpreted as a favour to a backward area, was the occasion to request land, which he successfully did, in Karol Bagh to the north-west of the new buildings. The funding came largely from princes, with a sprinkling of merchants and others of the well-to-do joining in. The buildings themselves recall Aligarh, and are much closer to the traditionalist Indo-Saracenic than to the classical style the British had come to prefer, and included a large square for an experimental garden in front of the main buildings, and playing fields behind.[20] The buildings were meant to recall past splendour, not present empire: 'If you see the buildings from afar', wrote an associate of Ajmal Khan, 'they seem like a broad expanse of the splendid buildings of the Mughals.'[21]

The foundation stone of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College was laid by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, in March 1916, and the college was formally opened by Gandhi in 1921. Gandhi on this occasion frankly acknowledged his scepticism about the school. He called the medical systems black magic and said he held all medicine a sign of failure to lead a well-ordered life. His motive in attending was political—to show his respect for this joint Hindu–Muslim venture and for the non-communal stance of Ajmal Khan.[22] Despite such scepticism and the pressing political activities of those years, Ajmal Khan continued to press for the foundation of more *tibbiya* colleges and departments in universities throughout the country.

It is striking how quickly the transition to formal education for medicine was made. A memorandum to the Delhi government in 1916 showed that almost all doctors were educated in schools, with

only two distinguished *hakims* still educating pupils privately. Outside Delhi there were now schools in Lucknow, Hyderabad, Lahore, Amritsar, and Bhopal.[23] In part, medicine had traditionally been considered accessible through books, without the personal presence of a teacher and guide who embodied the teachings, the more usual form of education.[24] In part the push to professionalize in this context of British rule and of a competing system of medicine was very great.

By the early 1920s, Ajmal Khan had created three lasting institutions: the central college in Delhi; the pharmacy or manufactory of indigenous medicines; and the Tibbi Conference, later the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia Conference. Following the passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, medicine was made a provincial subject under the control of elected ministries. From that time on the issue of official discrimination against indigenous practitioners was dropped and governments to varying degrees supported the indigenous systems, a practice that has continued to the present.

In the course of creating formally organized, all-India institutions, Ajmal Khan succeeded in winning the support successively of three signficant groups of élite patrons. An important strategy for the *hakims* from the nineteenth century on had been to cultivate the patronage of the princes whose courts flourished when that of the Mughal emperor did not. The pattern of seeking close ties with princes for both financial support and often residential base, continued as British rule became firmly established from the late nineteenth century. The particular structure of imperial rule in India preserved and enhanced the position of segments of the old élite who had both means, and, in their dependent situation, motive, to patronize those who enhanced their status and their sense of cultural worth—precisely in such areas as traditional art, music and indigenous medicine. This accounts in part for the continuity of these traditions here in contrast to their eclipse in the Middle East.[25]

Mahmud Khan was particularly tied to the Raja of Jind; his brothers to the Maharaja of Patiala. These ties protected the family in the revolt of 1857 when their house in Ballimaran became a storehouse for the valuables of others who fled and Mahmud Khan intervened on behalf of those accused.[26] Ajmal Khan himself was the protégé of the Nawab of Rampur. As a young man he spent nine years at the Nawab's court and developed with him the kind of passionate bond of friendship that was so cherished by men who were part of this

cultural world. When Ajmal Khan died the Nawab said, 'I am a Shii in religion and do not accept the relationship of spiritual guide and disciple (*piri-muridi*), but I know that if I were anyone's disciple in this world, I would have been Ajmal Khan's. What things I found in him cannot be found in the greatest saint.'[27] After he gave up residence at the court, Ajmal Khan continued to receive a pension from the Nawab and hastened to him when any of the family needed care or when he wanted to be there.

Particularly in the twentieth century the *hakims*, again like the musicians, travelled to the courts of the princes, the former when summoned for illness, the latter for scheduled engagements. The biography of Ajmal Khan, written by a man who was briefly his 'private secretary' in fact chronicles his visits: Rampur, Kashmir, Patiala, Jaipur, Bahawalpur, Bundlekhand, Balrampur, Baroda, Kutch, and so on.[28] Even for princes, the rule held that they paid no fees if they themselves came to Delhi. If summoned to a court, however, Ajmal Khan charged an astonishing one thousand rupees a day. When a young man of the *sharifi* family was accused after World War I of travelling to the frontier for subversive activities, his defence was not only his integrity and the honour of a distinguished family, but the inordinate financial handicap of being confined to Delhi where, by long established custom, the *hakims* of his family charged no fees.[29] Princely patronage was not limited to largesse to the great *hakims*, but involved the employment of doctors on a regular basis, for example in Bhopal where each *tahsil* had a *yunani* dispensary.[30] For Ajmal Khan, the continued support of princes was essential to his success, as he moved into new political and educational endeavours far different from the activities one would earlier have expected from a traditionally-learned man with noble patrons.

Ajmal Khan's ever-widening activities in medicine and politics were inextricably intertwined. His motive in both was to secure the cultural heritage and the position of well-born Muslims. A generation younger than Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, he shared much of his view of the perilous state of Muslim fortunes, and of the need to redress those fortunes by assimilating to British modes of behaviour; by acquiring some of their technical skills; and by cultivating a special relationship with them. Ajmal Khan was not alone among *hakims* in continuing as an influential figure in Delhi, and, indeed, the *hakims* were unusual among Muslims in continuing their civic role after the eclipse of Muslim fortunes in the city after the Mutiny. From the beginning of

the Delhi Municipality in 1863 up to 1921, three *hakims* served substantial terms and played an active role in local politics.[31]

Ajmal Khan, like Sayyid Ahmad, moved successfully to establish himself as a credible and influential figure in the eyes of the British. C. F. Andrews, who came to Delhi as a missionary but soon became absorbed in Indian religion and nationalist politics, described 'an ever closer friendship' with him over some twenty years and saw him as a Christ-like figure, ministering to the sick and oblivious of his own narrow interests. Sir Theodore Morison, at Aligarh, helped facilitate his trip to visit hospitals and medical libraries in Europe in 1911 as did Lord Hardinge himself. His relations with these Englishmen were not merely expedient; he admired and valued them, as he did Lady Hardinge, for their commitment to India and to Indians.[32]

Government records reveal both explicit comments about Ajmal Khan and implicit actions based on the respect he enjoyed. When opinions were sought on current issues, his were taken seriously and others' brushed aside. His behaviour was taken as a measure of others' opinion. Hailey, the Chief Commissioner, wrote to the viceroy in 1913, 'He is a man whose opinion [on Mûslim feelings generally] is of great value as he comes across all classes of men and has a very sound judgement in all such matters.'[33] And when he was moved to action, officials were truly worried: 'A somewhat disquieting symptom is the fact that . . . Ajmal Khan departed from his previous policy of keeping aloof from such gatherings and was not only present but is reported to have approved of a virulent speech . . . . If the really influential men are to be goaded into a more active line, the situation will require still more careful watching.'[34]

The officials formed a second group, after the princes, from whom Ajmal Khan could expect protection and support. Their attitude toward his work in indigenous medicine and his insistence on governmental recognition of its importance was ambivalent (as was Gandhi's). But Ajmal Khan found arguments that implied that he shared their respect for Western systems and appreciated, as they did, the importance of politic action. He pointed out that the people of India could not for generations have adequately-trained allopathic physicians and that the indigenous doctors were in fact learning from areas where Western medicine was superior. And he reminded the British that measures that denied legitimacy to indigenous practi-

tioners would wound nationalist pride and create public disaffection. Support for Ajmal Khan rested in large part on official belief that he and his cause were politically important. In this regard it is particularly striking to see a long letter, prepared in 1916 by one of the *hakims* of Delhi, arguing the futility of trying to develop the research side of the indigenous systems. He made a quite modern assessment that the pressing need was for more practitioners of all systems trained in basic health care as well as for the kind of public health measures the government had already identified as chiefly responsible for controlling cholera, small pox, and plague. The letter was filed with the comment that Ajmal Khan alone had been consulted.[35] Official action was based as much on politics as on medical science.

In 1927, the then Chief Commissioner of Delhi presided over an occasion at the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College and recalled the association of earlier officials with the late *hakim*'s endeavours:

> Though this great institution is not in any sense a Government institution it has often looked to Government for help and friendly countenance. The land on which these buildings stand was provided by Government and interesting stages in the career of the institution have been marked by the presence of Government officers. The Deputy Commissioner opened this school in 1889. Twenty years later the Lieutenant Governor opened the Zenana Madrasa. In 1916 you had the signal honour of having the foundation stone of the college laid by His Excellency Lord Hardinge and now that you are making another big stride forward, you have done your Chief Commissioner the honour of asking him to declare your Research Institute open . . . .[36]

He did not note that when the college was opened it was not the viceroy—as had been predicted even five months earlier,[37] but Gandhi who presided. But then the nationalist histories do not recall that even on that occasion life-sized portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge were unveiled.[38]

By the post-war period Ajmal Khan had added, as we have seen, a third group of powerful patrons to aid his endeavours, namely that of the nationalist 'leaders'—the English word was always used. And he continued to have the impressive ability to attract new elements of support without completely losing the old. He himself was a member of the Simla delegation in 1906, active in Muslim League politics until 1918, and a strong supporter of Aligarh. He strongly believed in what he considered to be the non-sectarian stance of Nadwa, an institution that hoped to create a united front for Muslim religious leaders throughout India, and was active in that organization from

1910 until shortly before his death. He played an active role in Kanpur at the time of the mosque incident of 1913, a landmark in creating a non-local Muslim leadership, and shared the concern for Muslim interests in the Ottoman empire that stimulated Muslim political emotions and solidarity. It was his role in launching a medical delegation to the Balkans in 1913 that made him, as one biographer wrote, not only a *tabib-i-haziq* and a *rais* of Delhi, but a great 'leader' of the Muslims.[39] In World War I, he became alienated from the British because of their repressive policies and because of such personal experiences as the imprisonment of his nephew noted above. He became active in Congress and insisted that Muslim interests were best served in that organization. He supported non-cooperation and returned the title that had been awarded to him by the British in 1907. In 1918 he was chairman of the Congress Reception Committee and in 1921 he was elected president of Congress. He was active in the creation of the nationalist Muslim school and university, Jamia Millia.

In all these activities, Ajmal Khan was able to further his concern with the development of medicine by his political involvements. He persuaded other political figures of the importance of his projects. In 1917, for example, Madan Mohan Malaviya presided over the annual meeting of the Tibbi Conference and Sir Sankaran Nair at the annual convocation of the new college. Protection of indigenous medicine became part of the Congress platform. In 1920, in the annual report of the Tibbia College, Ajmal Khan insisted on the identity of indigenous medicine and self government, 'If we want to take the administration of government into our own hands, we must right all national things, including the indigenous method of healing. Our real progress depends on these things. We fail in serving our country if we are dependent on outside things.'[40]

Ajmal Khan's life thus saw the development of new institutions, ever more formally organized and ever larger in scope, that became the basis of the *yunani* system; and he embedded these institutions in networks not only of like-minded physicians but of influential groups of patrons as well. Throughout he was aided by a political environment in which Muslims sought to revive their cultural heritage; in which the idiom of British rule and the interests of some officials contributed to a fostering of much in the traditional culture; and in which nationalists focused on some aspects of the shared culture as a source of indigenous pride.

Indian art and music were particularly important in this last regard, but medicine, through the linking of *yunani* and *ayurvedic*, was too. *Yunani* medicine itself, moreover, had always been part of cosmopolitan Muslim culture, drawing on varied traditions and open to Muslims and non-Muslims both.[41] As medicine underwent revival in the modern period, it was increasingly secularized, at least in the colleges and conferences, and emphasis given to the scientific principles that underlay it. The religious superstructure that sanctioned medicine and the use of amulets and prayers to accompany it had no formal place. This made it the easier to argue for British support and then nationalist support successively. Theory aside, medicine was available to all. 'My first visit to the waiting room,' wrote C. F. Andrews, 'brought home a shock to the opinion I carried from England that Hindus and Muslims could not mix. [Ajmal Khan] treated all alike, Hindu and Muslim, rich and poor.'[42]

While medicine was not an expression of religion in the narrow sense, it was an expression of Muslim culture and a source of Muslim pride. The verses cited at the opening of this chapter reflect what might be called the Aligarh view of the situation of Muslims, with its emphasis on the decline of the community from the glory of the historic past. Ajmal Khan himself, in the introduction to the catalogue he prepared for the Nawab of Rampur's library in 1901, identified himself with what might be called this 'orientalist' view:[43]

> The remains of world civilization and progress are found in many forms. Sometimes an old city appears by chance . . . similarly the writings of each *qaum* point the way to the thought of that *qaum* for future generations. Although the sun of Eastern arts and sciences kept rising in its own time and many *qaums* drew benefits from its light, now that sun has declined and the age, as is its habit, has given birth to a new sun that fulfills the needs of the people of the age . . . . The results of this reversal, which previous nations have already endured will happen to us: we will see our former greatness and glory in the hand of oblivion if we do not take thought to preserve it . . . .[44]

His life's work was to stem reversal in the area of medicine.

Ajmal Khan's non-communal strategies for his work were shaped in part by the fact that medicine, while a symbol of Muslim pride, was outside the core religious subjects and was open to all. But they were also shaped by his rootedness in Delhi's cosmopolitan culture and his personal experience of being part of a composite élite. One of Ajmal Khan's most effective experiences came in the terrible riots of 1919 when he and Swami Shraddhanand, singlehanded quieted the

city and were at the centre of an informal shadow government. He was 'a king without a crown'. 'It was then', wrote Andrews, 'that I saw the Hakim Sahib in all the true greatness of his character. Night and day he laboured for peace . . . .'[45] Ajmal Khan's role as a privileged Muslim in pre-Lutyens Delhi gave him an aristocratic vision: in some ways he and people like him were the city. This is implicit in Hali's verses above that identify the fortunes of the *qaum* with the fortunes of the city, which he apostrophizes to give the lament its power—Delhi's glory and the glory of the *qaum* are the same. Ajmal Khan's work made the explicit assumption that it was in everyone's interests that Muslim culture be preserved and that the obvious strategy for this was collaboration in common interests, medicine and politics both.

In this, Ajmal Khan moved far beyond Delhi. His base as a physician moved beyond his family to a national college and to an association that included both *ayurvedic* and *yunani* doctors from across India. Dependent on princely largesse he did not, like his father, stay in Delhi, but was resident at the Rampur court and travelled constantly from state to state. As his ties with the British increased he was ready every summer to go to Simla, and he travelled twice to Europe, in 1911 and 1925—trips that contrasted with his first travel abroad to Shii holy places in 1905. As a political leader, he followed the schedule of annual meetings of Muslim League and Congress. Ajmal Khan even changed in style of dress—from the princely embroidered cap and tight coat of his elders, to the sherwani and Turkish fez of Aligarh, to homespun under Gandhi's influence, to a Western suit on his last trip to Europe.[46] In all his widening circles he remained a man of enormous self-discipline, self-sacrifice, and singleness of purpose. He was in no sense the marginal figure this versatility might suggest. His standing in Delhi as a *rais*, distinguished by his aristocratic origin, his cultural breadth, and his medical skills, provided him the base for becoming an influential leader committed to securing Muslim interests in the context of Hindu–Muslim co-operation.

NOTES

1. Quoted in Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal* (Aligarh, 1950), p. 20.
2. Published by Zakir Husain and available in the Jamia Millia library. See Ahmad Ali, *Twilight in Delhi* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 117–18, for a description of a *mahfil*

in which poetry was discussed and which included the historical figure Nawab Sirajud-din Khan Sail, the son-in-law of the poet Dagh. Sail and his brother Taban were among Ajmal Khan's closest friends. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, pp. 498–506, recounts of poetic assemblies much like the fictional.

3. His son's biography begins with a list of his father's closest friends. Hakim Jamil Khan, *Sirat-i Ajmal* (Delhi, n.d.), pages *dal* to *toe*.
4. Ajmal Khan in his newspaper, for example, denounced the rivalry of the *muqallid* and *ghair-muqallid*. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, p. 38; and denuciation of divisiveness was a major theme in his addresses to religious leaders.
5. His writings are listed in Muhammad Kamal Husain Hamadani, *Matab-i Masih* (Aligarh, 1976), beginning at p. 11. They include Quranic commentary, translations of *hadith*, and works on Sufism as well as writings on medicine.
6. Daniel M. Neuman, *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition* (New Delhi, 1980), especially pp. 104–5, 146, 168.
7. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, p. 27.
8. There was a belief that the *sharifi* family had a special verbal formula (*amal-i taskhir*) and that Ajmal Khan in addition had a special medicine chest whose contents never failed him. 'Hakim Ajmal Khan: A Champion of Indian Medicine' in *Studies in History of Medicine* (New Delhi), (4:3, September 1980), p. 159. Also Hakim Ahmad Riza Khan Amrohawi, *Hayat-i Ajmal* (Delhi, 1938), p. 30.
9. 'No student trained primarily in a music school has ever become recognized.' Neuman, *The Life of Music in North India*, p. 199. Music cultivated the relationship between teacher and disciple as an essential part of training, as medicine did not. By the second decade of this century, virtually all Delhi *hakims* were trained in schools.
10. For descriptions of other families, see Imdad Sabiri, *Dihli ki yadgar hastiyan* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 189–92, 292–6, 348–52.
11. In B file 68 of Home, 1916, in Delhi Archives Research Room (Interstate Bus Terminal, Kashmiri Gate). Hereafter, DARR.
12. The director was Bihari Lal Mushtaq. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal* pp. 34–40, including quotations from Ajmal Khan's writings for the paper.
13. Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, ed., *Mashirul-attiba: Masihul-Mulk Nambar* (Nov.–Dec. 1928), p. 22.
14. Jamil Khan, *Sirat-i Ajmal*, p. 44.
15. Muhammad Kamalud-Din Husain Hamadani, *Matab-i Masih* (Aligarh, 1976), p. 14.
16. K. B. Pirzada Mohamad Husain, M.A., to E. R. Abbott, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 14.2.25 (in B file 5 of Education, 1925, DARR). The two-year colleges intended were the Islamia College and DAV College, Lahore. The letter continues by listing the texts, with page numbers, that were used for Western subjects in the college.
17. Hakim Ajmal Khan to Personal Assistant, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, 25.7.11 in ibid.
18. Between 1912 and 1916 acts were passed in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P., Panjab, Burma, Bihar, and Orissa. (Officiating Deputy Secretary, Government of India, to Chief Commissioner Delhi, 25.11.19 in B File 70 of Home, 1920, DARR).
19. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, p. 92.

20. Issues related to the building are in the files of the DARR. See Off. B file 115 of 1915; B File 94 of Education, 1916; B File 44 of Education, 1920; and B File 3 (60) of Education, 1920. The Secretary, Imperial Delhi Commission, wrote to the Secretary of Government, GOI, on 14.2.16 concerning the building plans: 'These would not have been approved of by the Imperial Delhi Commission had the buildings been situated in or near to the New City . . . .' The issue may have been the Indo-Saracenic style now deprecated in favour of the classical.
21. Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, ed., *Mashirul-attiba*, p. 58.
22. His speech, the fortnightly report drily noted 'contained several remarks depreciatory of the indigenous as well as any other system of medicine, and must have been galling to Ajmal Khan and the other organizers of the event.' ('Fortnightly reports on the internal political situation in the Delhi Province', Confidential Home, B File 3 of 1921, DARR).
23. In B File 68 of Home, 1916, DARR.
24. The method of self-instruction was even argued to be superior by Ibn Ridwan. Gary Leiser, 'Islamicate Medical Education from Muhammad to the Ottomans', a paper presented at the colloquium 'Biology, Society, and History in Islam', September 1977, University of Pennsylvania.
25. See, for example, Nancy Gallagher and Peter Gran, 'Medical Conflicts in the Early Modern Middle East', a paper presented at the colloquium 'Biology, Society, and History in Islam'.
26. 'Some of [the favoured servants of the Maharaja of Patiala] were distinguished noblemen of Delhi, holding high rank at his court, and among them were Hakim Mahmud Khan, Hakim Murtaza Khan, and Hakim Ghulamullah Khan, all sons of that Hakim Sharif Khan who dwells in Paradise: and they lived in our lane. Their houses stretch in a long line, threshold to threshold, roof to roof, on both sides of the lane, and the writer of these words had been for years the neighbour of one of these beneficent men. The first of the three, with his wife and children, lived in the capital, in accordance with the tradition of the family, while the other two lived in Patiala, privileged to be companions to the Maharaja. Foreseeing the re-taking of the city, the Maharaja in his gracious kindness to his servants, had secured from the mighty warrior-lords . . . a promise that when the flowing tide of time should bring them victory, protectors should take their stand at the gate of this lane.' Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Ghalib, 1797–1869*, vol. I, *Life and Letters* (London, 1969), p. 142. In fact Sharif Khan was their grandfather. For discussion of an illness attended by Hakim Mahmud Khan, see pp. 268–70.
27. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, pp. 51–2.
28. Muhammad Abrar Husain Faruqi Naqshbandi Gopamaui, *Masirul-Masih*, (Hardoi, U.P., 1972). See also the work of Ajmal Khan's *peshkar*, Hakim Rashid Ahmad Khan, *Hayat-i Ajmal* (Delhi, 1938?), covering 1910–18.
29. Home Confidential File 48 of 1916 in DARR.
30. Chief Commissioner, Delhi, to Secretary to Government of India, Home 1.13.16 (in B File 68 of Home, 1916, DARR).
31. See Imdad Sabiri, *Dihli ki yadgar hastiyan*, pp. 252–3 for an account of Hakim Zahirud-din Khan who was a member of the Delhi Municipality for twenty-nine years. Three *hakims* served substantial terms up to 1921: see Rai Sahib Madho

Parshad, *History of the Delhi Municipality, 1863–1921* (Allahabad, 1921). For the context of this civic activity see Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803–1931* (Delhi, 1981).

32. C. F. Andrews, 'Hakim Ajmal Khan' in *Eminent Musalmans* (Madras, 1926), pp. 287, 294, 295. The College Sub-Committee of the Tibbi Conference proposed to name the 'female college' after Lady Hardinge 'in commemoration of the sad and untimely death of that good Lady, which all of us lament . . . as an irreparable loss to the women of India.' This was not permitted since there was already a Lady Hardinge Medical College, but the Chief Commissioner suggested the female portion be named the 'Lady Hardinge Wing'. (B File 75 of Education, 1914, DARR).
33. W. M. Hailey to Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, 12.6.13 (in B File 168 of Education, 1913, DARR).
34. 'Fortnightly reports on the internal political situation in the Delhi Province', 16.4.20, Home Confidential B File 3 of 1920 DARR.
35. Hakim Raziuddin Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur, Shifa ul Mulk, to Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1.7.16, and hand-written note, 6.7.16 (in B File 68 of 1916, Home, DARR).
36. B File 5 (25) of 1930, Education. In fact the *zanana madrasa* was opened by his wife, Lady Dean.
37. When discussing a grant of five lakhs of rupees to the College. (Government of India Legislative Department. Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council . . . Delhi, 10.3.20 in B File 179 of 1919, Home, DARR).
38. Noted in 'Fortnightly reports on the internal political situation in the Delhi Province', 17.1.21 (in Confidential Home B File 3 of 1921, DARR).
39. Muhammad Abdul-Ghaffar, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, p. 123.
40. Jamil Khan, *Sirat-i Ajmal*, pp. '132–3' (pagination defective; the quotation marks refer to the second time these numbers appear).
41. It is interesting that when Ajmal Khan prepared lists of distinguished physicians in Delhi for the government in 1916 all the *yunani* physicians were Muslim and all the *ayurvedic* physicians Hindu although two of the latter were identified as *hakim* not *vaid*: the implication is that the doctors were categorized by religion, not their actual learning. Today at the two leading *yunani* colleges in Delhi substantial percentages of students and faculty are non-Muslim.
42. Andrews, 'Hakim Ajmal Khan', pp. 290–1.
43. The 'orientalist view', which third world intellectuals often assimilated, meant acceptance of an 'East' and 'West' dichotomy as well as of the view of Eastern decline evident here. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979). It became standard to speak of *yunani* as 'Eastern medicine'. Thus the college talked of itself as 'one of the unique Institutions wherein East and West are mingled.' (Jt. Secretary, Board of Trustees of Tibbia College to Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 20.5.37 in B File 5 (90) of 1937, Education, in DARR).
44. Jamil Khan, *Sirat-i Ajmal*, p. 10.
45. C. F. Andrews, 'Hakim Ajmal Khan', p. 298.
46. Rashid Ahmad Khan Amrohawi, *Hayat-i Ajmal*, p. 32.

ORGANIZED HINDUISM IN DELHI AND NEW DELHI

KENNETH W. JONES

Delhi emerges from the pages of history as a place of splendour, of power, of imperial ceremony, as the capital of past empires, and of an independent republic today. The importance of Delhi is self-evident and beyond question. Its symbols of greatness, however, are Muslim or British and stand for the triumph of foreign civilizations associated with foreign religions. Little is left from the period of Hindu political dominance. The remains of Hindu Delhi are scattered about on the surface with the fabled Indraprastha buried somewhere beneath the contemporary city. Near the Qutb Minar stand the pillars of an ancient Hindu temple demolished by Muslim invaders who, in turn, used these columns to support a mosque constructed in celebration of their victory. From the perspective of traditional Hinduism Delhi is a vacuum. Vol. XIII, *Tirthanka* of the journal *Kalayana*, which lists over 1800 places of pilgrimage, has little to say of Delhi. It mentions Rajput ruins, the site of Indraprastha, a small Kali temple near Okhla Road, local temples in the cities, none important enough to be named, and the Lakshmi Narayan Temple opened in 1939.[1] Muslim pilgrims on the Hajj will visit and complete rituals at the tomb of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din before travelling on to Ajmer, Bombay, and Mecca. Hindu pilgrims will change trains or find another bus. For them Delhi has nothing to offer; yet it is a convenient place surrounded by sacred sites at Pushkar, Kurukshetra, Hardwar, Mathura, and the Braj area. Sanctity can be found in all directions around Delhi, but not within it.

This study will attempt to trace the creation of a new role for the city of Delhi, as it became the centre of a new type of Hinduism, the organized, structured Hinduism of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a city it was transformed from a place with little or no role in the religious world of the Hindus except in ancient myth to a

city that speaks for the Hindu community as a whole. The forces behind this transformation are various, but a primary one is the geographical position of Delhi, since it lies at the nexus of Panjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh. The creation of modern railway and road networks accentuated this centrality. By 1912 Delhi was the focus of six railways connecting it to the rest of the subcontinent.[2] By then it had also become the capital of British India, as once again the politics of empire gave importance to this city.

Modern Delhi began with the slow revival of the city under British domination. During the 'Delhi Renaissance', approximately 1830 to the outbreak of the Mutiny, Delhi exhibited the beginnings of a similar cultural ferment as had already appeared in Calcutta, Bombay or Madras. Western technology and ideas entered the city and supported each other. The printing press provided the technique needed for publishing newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and inexpensive books. In turn publishing disseminated the 'new learning' from the west to a growing literate audience.[3] Old Delhi College, founded in 1792, was taken over by the government in 1825 to become the centre of new ideas, as it was transformed into a British institution of education.[4] In Delhi, as elsewhere, western learning became associated with either Christianity or open criticism of existing tradition. Several students were converted to Christianity causing unease and open conflict,[5] but equally disturbing were the statements of those who did not become converts but were still highly critical and who openly advocated social or religious reform.[6] In short, Delhi was moving in the direction of similar patterns of cultural interaction as other major cities in colonial India and, had it developed undisturbed, Delhi would no doubt have become the major centre of new ideas and a wide variety of new movements in north-western India.

It was as well a 'prosperous and growing city . . . no longer economically a frontier town looking to an alien Punjab and surrounded by an exhausted countryside. It was the metropolis of a flourishing agricultural territory and the commercial centre for a growing trade with the reviving Punjab, and a stable if still feudal Rajputana.'[7] This rising prosperity was reflected in the population of the city which reached 160,279 in 1847.[8] But beneath the surface calm remained other less fortunate trends. Delhi was a city divided between a Hindu community with a slight majority and a large Muslim population: there were 87,145 Hindus to 72,807 Muslims[9] and with

this division there was an accompanying undertone of communal tension. Although there were no records of riots during the 'English peace', the issue of cow slaughter cropped up repeatedly between the two communities, as it would in years to come.[10] Delhi also saw the publication in 1852 of one of the most vicious anti-Hindu tracts ever to appear, *Katha Saloi*, which was reprinted for decades until finally banned by the British government in the 1920s.[11] Along with a permanent element of communal tension Delhi also suffered from recurrent famines, for it lay in an area dependent on the monsoon rains. Periodically these rains failed and the city suffered a sharp economic setback.[12] Thus Delhi was subject to internal and external forces which shaped its development and at times distorted it.

Of all events during the nineteenth century the Mutiny had the greatest effect on Delhi, changing the history of this city and its place among the cities of the north-west. The explosion of the Mutiny effectively destroyed the 'Delhi Renaissance'. Leading intellectual figures, often Christian converts, fled or were killed as the entire structure of change and development was destroyed.[13] During the reign of the Mutineers the Delhi of the 'New Learning' suffered, but with the British re-conquest on 20 September 1857, the entire city was torn apart, its surviving inhabitants driven out, and its wealth looted systematically by the conquerors.[14] The city only began to return to life in October 1857 when the first Hindus were re-admitted;[15] the Muslims, however, were not allowed to resettle until August 1859.[16] With the return of its population Delhi entered a period of near stagnation. The two decades 1857–77 saw a collapse of life in the city and a slow return to the position it held just prior to the outbreak of the Mutiny.

In the immediate aftermath of 1857 the Old Delhi College was revived, but it failed to draw any significant numbers, reaching a peak in 1871–2 of only fifty-six students.[17] Instead, leadership in higher education went to Lahore and to the Government College located in that city. As with education, the Christian missions sought to re-establish themselves immediately after the re-conquest of Delhi. Their conversions were limited but did occasionally succeed or threaten to succeed with members of the upper castes, creating considerable unrest among both Hindus and Muslims.[18] Attempts to reach the Chamar community of Delhi Gate had resulted in significant conversions only after the city was racked by a series of famines in the mid-1860s, particularly the famine of 1867.[19] By the end of the 1860s

street preaching by missionaries and other forms of organized proselytization had succeeded in heightening religious tensions.[20] In the area of religious competition developments in Delhi clearly parallelled other cities in the north-west and were in no way distinctive.

Intellectual and cultural life returned in a limited fashion during these years, first with the establishment of a debating society in 1861,[21] and the Delhi Literary Society in 1865.[22] The Delhi Society created its own journal which joined the small but growing number of newspapers printed in the city. In 1866, two newspapers, the *Zea-ul-Akhbar* and the *Akmil-ul-Akhbar*, were published in Delhi and within ten years the number of such papers rose to fifteen.[23] This growth of cultural life was slowed by years of famine and drought through the mid-1860s, and only in the 1870s was there a sustained return of vigour to the city.[24] By 1875 the population of Delhi reached 160,553, approximately the same size it had been in 1847. The effects of the Mutiny had finally been overcome and Delhi was on the verge of progress beyond the levels of growth reached in the 1850s.[25]

The years 1876–7 mark a turning point for the city as contradictory events illustrate both the nadir of education in Delhi and a recognition of its historic value. The poor performance of Delhi College led to a discussion of whether or not to close it and depend solely on the Government College at Lahore. Over the bitter objections by various citizens' groups in Delhi,[26] the Panjab Government closed the college on 1 April 1877.[27] The loss of Delhi College deprived the city of higher education and also illustrated the growing predominance of Lahore as the centre of cultural and intellectual life in the north-west. Yet in this same year, the Delhi Durbar demonstrated that the city held great significance as a symbol of imperial power. Taken together, these two events indicate that Delhi's role by the 1870s was historic but of little contemporary importance. The cities of the Panjab, especially Amritsar and Lahore, proved more vital, more open to change, and showed greater leadership than Delhi which was primarily a city concerned with internal events and developments.

The 1877 Durbar ceremonies, however, affected the city as they drew not only British officials but various leaders of religious and political groups. As a result of the Durbar a branch of the Theosophical Society was founded in Delhi,[28] this neo-Hindu movement becoming one of the first elements of organized Hinduism to make its appearance here. Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, visited

Delhi for the Durbar along with reformers and orthodox Hindus. He returned after his travels in Panjab and stimulated the founding of a branch of the Arya Samaj on 1 November 1878.[29] Dayananda's lectures and the continued presence of the Arya Samaj meant that Delhi was tied to a major Hindu reform movement whose presence, in turn, heightened religious controversy: Arya *versus* orthodoxy, Hindus *versus* Muslims. Representatives from the Delhi Arya Samaj appeared on the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Society and on the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, attended anniversary celebrations,[30] and, in general, took part in the overall Arya movement.[31]

A heightened religious awareness resulted from a series of communal riots during the mid-1880s. The issue of cow slaughter lay at the root of this conflict which was also stimulated by the fact that between 1884 and 1887 Dussehra and Muharram fell within the same few days.[32] Serious riots were barely averted in 1883 but thereafter became nearly an annual event.[33] These years also saw a rise in polemical religious literature from Christian, Hindu, and Muslim groups, as each organization and movement sought to attack all others.[34] The topics of controversy expanded to include, along with cow slaughter, the issue of conversion, the question of jobs as distributed by religious community,[35] and the issue of education. The closure of the Old Delhi College and its *de facto* replacement in 1881 by St Stephen's College was resented, since it placed higher education in the hands of Christian missionaries.[36]

The increase in religious controversy spurred the founding of organizations which sought to defend and maintain Hindu orthodoxy. The first of these was the Ram Sabha located in Bazar Sita Ram in 1884. Branches of the Ram Sabha were established in 1896 at Mandir Ram Lila and in Mandir Chipwara in 1899. Four years after the opening of the Ram Sabha, a second Hindu organization was inaugurated in Katra Neel, the Nawal Prem Sabha, which opened another branch in 1897 at the Temple Sat Narain. In 1891 the Sri Ram Sabha was founded near the General Civil Hospital and in 1898 the Gopal Ram Sabha appeared in Kucha Chelan.[37] All these organizations were limited to Delhi and in many instances to neighbourhoods within the city. One of the major factors behind organizational developments within Hinduism and Islam stemmed from the relative success of Christian missionaries within the district of Delhi. The *Census* of 1881 lists the number of 'Native Christians' for this district as 997, the largest number in any Panjab district.[38] The end of the

1870s and the decade of the 1880s then witnessed a rapid increase in religious tensions, and the resulting beginnings of organizational development among Hindus of all positions, from conservatives to radical reformers. Hindu–Muslim riots, Christian missionaries, and organizations from without the city, such as the Arya Samaj, contributed heavily to this changed atmosphere; however, Delhi still failed to be the centre of any movement, drawing external forces into its ambit; rather it continued to react to external forces, or respond to its internal dynamics.

The year 1890 marked the beginning of a new role for the city of Delhi in relation to the Hindu community, as it took on a leading role with one of the earliest all-India Hindu organizations, the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal. The Mahamandal was founded in 1887 and had its first meeting in Hardwar.[39] Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma of Jhajjar helped to organize the Mahamandal and then served as its secretary. Din Dayalu was a young, energetic and extremely effective public speaker, a passionate devotee of Sanatan Dharm and the cause of Hindu orthodoxy. He travelled extensively, but returned again and again to Delhi, which is only thirty miles from Jhajjar, and, in many ways, formed an extension of his home territory. On 29 May 1890, he reached Delhi after a lengthy tour of Uttar Pradesh, and two days later gave a series of lectures throughout the city. His lectures continued for twenty-nine days and were accompanied with processions, singing, and elaborate services of worship. He was hosted by distinguished citizens and members of the Delhi Brahman community, many of whom were already involved in the Sanatan Dharm Sabha movement. Out of these lectures and the meetings which accompanied them came the decision to hold the third annual conference of the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal in Delhi.[40]

The Mahamandal met in Delhi from 14 to 18 November 1890. Held on the banks of the Yamuna in specially constructed quarters, the Mahamandal meeting featured elaborate ceremonies, speeches, resolutions, representatives from throughout northern India, and crowds of eight to ten thousand spectators. It presented an impressive spectacle of orthodox Hinduism, with the sacred texts being chanted, hymns sung by groups of holy men and their disciples, with lengthy speeches in Sanskrit and equally elaborate services of worship to one or another deity.[41] Numerous resolutions were passed supporting the adherence of the community to traditional Hindu rituals, to condemn both old abuses such as the institution of dowry, and to

reject new, proposed abuses, such as the Age of Consent Act.[42] On the fifth day of the session a closed meeting was held to deal with the organizational business of the Mahamandal. Attending this meeting were the official representatives led by the Maharajas of Darbhanga and Benaras.[43] After this session the meeting concluded; however, shortly afterwards the Delhi Pradhan Karyalaya, or head office of the Mahamandal, was established in Delhi. During the next decade Din Dayalu visited Delhi either to supervise the work of the organizational headquarters or simply to travel through the city on his way home from his many speaking tours.[44] The establishment of the Mahamandal headquarters in Delhi placed that city at the centre of one Hindu movement which sought to bring together all Hindus of the north. A second Hindu organization came to the city in 1895, with the founding of the Sanatan Dharm Sabha simultaneously in Delhi and Hardwar.[45] In the future Delhi would provide a degree of leadership within the Hindu community it had not possessed for several centuries.

In 1893 the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal met again in Delhi, but the conference was limited to official representatives of the society and focused totally on the movement's programme. They gathered at the Indraprastha Sanatan Dharm Sabha from 2 to 4 November, representatives attending from the Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan.[46] For Delhi the most important issue discussed here was a projected Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, or college. This became an official goal of the Mahamandal when it passed a resolution in support of such a college at the 1890 meeting. This project was reaffirmed in the second Delhi meeting and became one of the main personal goals of Pandit Din Dayalu. Following the 1893 conference, Din Dayalu's main effort was to raise funds for the projected college. Controversy over social customs among the Vaishya castes erupted in Delhi at the end of 1898, with a meeting of the Vaish Conference in that city. Proponents of radical social reform clashed with the more traditionally minded. This in turn generated considerable support among orthodox Agarwal Vaishyas for the proposed Hindu college.[47] Pandit Din Dayalu was successful in acquiring that support when he returned early in 1899 for another lengthy series of lectures.[48] Din Dayalu and the Mahamandal were able to open the proposed college on 15 May 1899, adding a new orthodox Hindu school to the city's educational establishments.[49] This institution became one of the major projects and one of the major commitments of the Mahamandal in the years that

followed its founding.[50] It was, however, a limited success and represented a constant drain on the Mahamandal's financial resources.

During the 1890s Delhi was again racked by a series of riots and by continual religious strife between Hindus and Muslims, between aggressive sects, and between reformers and orthodoxy. As in the 1880s, the issue of cow protection lay at the root of much conflict, although certainly not all communal tensions resulted from this source.[51]The high point of communal violence and conflict was reached in the years 1896–7 with the struggle between the Arya Samaj, led by Pandit Lekh Ram, and the Muslim community. Pandit Lekh Ram had a reputation of being an aggressive and vitriolic opponent of Islam. In an attempt to silence him and his writings, a group of Muslims in Delhi brought a suit against him. They failed, but the following year Lekh Ram was assassinated supposedly by a Muslim fanatic, an act which produced a revival of Hindu–Muslim rioting, as Delhi was drawn into a maelstrom of religious conflict.[52] This period of strife terminated in 1898 with the arrival of the plague in Delhi. Communal violence ceased and once again religious tensions slipped below the surface, but did not wholly disappear.[53]

In 1900 the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal returned to Delhi for their annual conference. Once more elaborate preparations were made at the meeting site, the Ram Lila grounds outside Ajmeri Gate,[54] and as before the city was treated to a display of orthodox Hinduism, its rituals, songs, chanting, learned disputes, and discourses. The crowds were greatly impressed by the leaders on their elephants and by the aristocrats who joined in and supported these festivities.[55] But this meeting was both something of a beginning and an end for Delhi and the Bharat Mahamandal. By 1902 Din Dayalu Sharma had broken with the Mahamandal, as leadership went from him to Swami Gyanananda, of Mathura, with the result that the Mahamandal moved eastward into Uttar Pradesh and away from Delhi.[56] A small meeting of Bharat Hindu Mahamandal officials took place in Delhi on the occasion of the Durbar for Edward VII at which they decided to formally register the group with the government. This act signalled the final break of Din Dayalu Sharma with the organization.[57] Although its main office (Pradhan Karyalaya) moved out of the city, the Hindu college remained, as did Darbhanga House which continued as a meeting place for proponents of Hindu orthodoxy.[58]

Surprisingly, the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal meeting of 1900 proved to be the stimulus for creating another centralizing organization

in Delhi. Members of the Arya Samaj, who were in the city at the time of this meeting, began to discuss the founding of a central representative body for all Arya Samajists. This idea had been in the air since the founding of the Bombay Arya Samaj in 1875, but nothing concrete had come of it. Now after considerable discussion in Delhi, a committee was chosen of six leading Aryas from various provinces to plan for the establishment of such an organization.[59] Numerous meetings were held over the next few years and finally in March 1908, at the annual anniversary of the Gurukul Kangri in Hardwar, a formal subcommittee was created and charged with actual implementation of the plan. The committee drew up the necessary rules and by-laws, and on 15 September 1908, a full committee composed of representatives from the various provincial bodies met in Agra.[60] The subcommittee's plans were approved and on 31 August 1909, the first meeting of the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi was convened in Delhi, which has remained its headquarters ever since. At this first meeting representatives from six provincial organizations attended: Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bengal–Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Bombay.[61] With the founding of the Sarvadeshik Sabha Delhi became the centre of the Arya movement even as it spread throughout north and into central India, as well as to other parts of the British empire. This also meant that both wings of Hinduism, the reforming version of the Arya Samaj and the orthodox parties in the Bharat Mahamandal and the Sanatan Dharm Sabhas, gravitated to it, bringing new forms of organized Hinduism into that city, and making Delhi the centre of their activity well before Delhi had been transformed into the imperial capital. In fact the Durbar and resulting decision seem to have had little effect on this trend toward the convergence of Hindu organizations on the city. Although the change of Delhi into a capital no doubt aided this process, it did not create it.

During the years 1900 to 1914 new Hindu institutions were founded in Delhi, while others chose to hold conferences in the city. In October 1905, Parson's Hindu Orphanage was opened, joining the Indraprastha Hindu Girls' School and the Hindu College.[62] Some of these organizations did not fare well, facing one problem or another. For instance, the Hindu Orphanage suffered from a lack of financial backing and the Hindu College failed to attract a significant number of students. In the words of Mrs Anne Besant, the Hindu College was 'badly in need of popular support; little interest is taken in it by

the townspeople who care more apparently for commerce than for education.'[63] In spite of this apparent dearth of public enthusiasm, Hindu organizations continued to use Delhi as a conference centre. In October 1912, the Punjab Hindu Conference held its fourth annual meeting in Delhi. The death of its founder, Lala Lal Chand, diminished the size of this meeting, but it is of significance that this new organization, the direct ancestor of the Hindu Mahasabha, should choose to meet there.[64] With the Sarvadeshik Sabha in Delhi, different organizations of the Arya Samaj chose this city as a conference site, such as the Arya Kumar Sammelan (The Arya Youth Conference), which held its fourth anniversary meeting in Delhi on 7–8 October 1913.[65]

The growing presence of the Arya Samaj in Delhi increased tensions between Hindus and Muslims and furthered organizational efforts by Hindu orthodoxy. In 1908 a Sanatan Dharm Sabha was organized at Kashmiri Gate and in 1910 a Shiv Sabha was established to combat Arya attempts to proselytize among the Sanatanists.[66] By 1911 the Arya Samaj presence in Delhi had expanded to include four branch Samajs in addition to the central organization, the Sarvadeshik Sabha.[67] The greatest communal tensions resulted, however, from Arya success in converting Muslims to Hinduism. In 1903, a Muslim named Abdul Ghafur became an Arya and took the name Dharm Pal. He proved to be an aggressive defender of his new faith and an ardent promoter of Samajist efforts at re-conversion.[68] By 1908–9 increased conversions by the Aryas led to open bitterness between Hindus and Muslims, as Abdul Haq, Maulvi of Delhi, called upon his co-religionists to ally themselves with Christians in order to halt the spread of Hindu proselytization.[69] This struggle made use of the whole range of proselytizing techniques: street preaching, polemical pamphlets, aggressive public speeches, articles in newspapers and journals, and even, in the case of Dharm Pal, threats of assassination.[70] One pamphlet, *Ifsha-i-Raz* (Exposing of Secrets), placed the city on the verge of massive rioting in 1910, and only effective action by the Chief Commissioner averted a crisis he felt might grow swiftly beyond his ability to control.[71]

Communal tensions were also exacerbated by the arrival in Delhi of Muslim organizations and Muslim meetings. In 1903 the annual meeting of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference was held in Delhi and in 1909 a city branch of the All-Indian Muslim League opened there.[72] The result of both aggressive Muslim and Hindu

organizations was to further stimulate conflict over language,[73] over the question of cow slaughter,[74] and the associated issues which had long become part of communal competition.

With the outbreak of the great war communal conflict was overshadowed and nearly terminated, first by the war itself, and then by the wave of nationalism that grew out of the war experience, resulting in the Gandhian non-violent campaign. Yet throughout this period, from the war to its immediate aftermath, developments among Hindus continued both in Delhi and the larger community. At the fifth Punjab Hindu Conference, held in Ambala on 7–8 December 1913, the delegates passed a resolution that 'This Conference is strongly of [the] opinion that in order to deliberate upon measures for safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community throughout India and elsewhere it is highly desirable that a General Conference of the Hindus of India be held at Hardwar on the occasion of the Kumbh 1915, and it requested the following gentlemen to make necessary arrangements for the purpose.'[75] Only five of the twenty-six individuals named did participate in the planning of the 1915 meeting, but the meeting was organized, held as scheduled in Hardwar, resolutions passed, and a new organization created.[76] Initially known as the Sarvadeshik Hindu Sabha, it later took the title of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha, the one organization which claimed to be and was generally accepted as the 'official' voice of the Hindu community. In this it replaced the Punjab Hindu Conference and the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal. According to Swami Shraddhanand the headquarters of this new organization was to be Delhi, but it was established in Benaras instead until it was transferred to the capital in 1925.[77] This new organization followed the pattern of holding annual meetings established by the Punjab Hindu Conference. On 26–8 December 1918, the Mahasabha met in Delhi for its yearly gathering. Here Hindus were able to present their grievances and concerns for the Hindu community before officials of the government, particularly as to the proposed constitutional changes, especially the key issues of separate electorates and political weightage.[78] Also growing out of this conference was the founding of the Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha established in 1918.[79] The political storm which engulfed Delhi in 1918–19 and the non-violent campaign that followed swept many Hindu leaders into the nationalist movement and away from their communal activities. The Mahasabha did not meet in either 1919 or 1920, and, as with so many communal

organizations, only came to prominence again following the collapse of the nationalist movement.[80]

During the years 1923–8 north India was repeatedly racked by communal conflict and violence. Delhi, with its history of Hindu–Muslim tensions, its geographical position and role as the capital city, was deeply affected by this eruption of religious violence. Although numerous Hindu groups became involved with their struggles against Islam, the Arya Samaj took a leading role in aggressive Hinduism.[81] In 1923 they began an extensive campaign to re-convert Muslims to their original religion, Hinduism. Led by Swami Shraddhanand, the Aryas founded the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha with its headquarters in Agra, and carried out extensive campaigns of re-conversion in Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh.[82] The proximity of the Shuddhi Sabha, however, did affect the atmosphere of Delhi and communal relations within the city. For instance, in December 1923, along with the meeting of the Indian National Congress in Delhi, a special gathering attempted to deal with the rising tide of communal conflict. Swami Shraddhanand was asked to end the campaign of re-conversion headed by the Shuddhi Sabha; he stated in reply: 'If the Muslims here will turn from all preaching, I also, will advise the workers of the Shuddhi Sabha of Agra to turn away from their own work and if the Sabha does not accept my request then I will go separately from the path of the aforementioned Sabha.' His offer found little response among Muslims at this meeting, neither side would compromise, and the situation continued to degenerate.[83] Within Delhi Arya Samajists had been particularly active among untouchable groups. They hoped to raise the status of these castes in order to make them less vulnerable to conversion by Christian and Muslim missionaries.[84] Continued efforts at re-conversion and the uplift of untouchables depended for their strength on underlying concern for communal defence and at the same time contributed to worsening relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

A series of communal riots broke out in 1924, with perhaps the most serious occurring at Kohat on 9–10 September, and then in Delhi on 17 September.[85] These riots were followed by Gandhi's twenty-one-day fast and a unity conference, but neither succeeded in ending the trend toward religious conflict. Within this atmosphere Hindu organizations continued to press their own campaigns for communal defence, led by individuals who had been associated with national unity during the years 1918–22 but who now turned to more

fundamental religious loyalties. Lala Lajpat Rai became president of the Hindu Mahasabha at their annual meeting held in Calcutta during April 1925. He then transferred the offices of the Hindu Mahasabha to Delhi both for his own convenience and 'to take advantage of the presence of representatives of the different provinces coming to attend the session of the Legislative Assembly during the winter.'[86] The Mahasabha office remained in Delhi, completing the move of major Hindu groups into the city prior to World War II. That same year Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma founded the Sanatanist newspaper, *Hindu Sansar*, in Delhi, a paper which supported orthodoxy, the use of Hindi, and the protection of Hindu culture.[87]

The placing of the Hindu Mahasabha office in Delhi meant both an extension of Delhi's role as the centre of organized Hinduism and also an intensification of political rivalry between Hindu, Muslim, and secular nationalist groups within the city. In March 1926, the annual meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in Delhi and, under the leadership of Bhai Parmanand, this organization began to develop a new dimension, that of a political party. Parmanand lobbied among the Mahasabha delegates to have the Sabha put forth its own list of political candidates for both local and national elections. He wanted them to become independent of the Congress and a truly Hindu political group. At the 1926 meeting he was only partially successful, but in later years he succeeded and the Mahasabha became an active political force within the city of Delhi.[88]

Communal tensions reached their peak in Delhi at the close of 1926 with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand by a Muslim on 23 December.[89] The assassin was hailed as a hero of the Islamic community and a large defence fund was raised for him. The Hindus responded with the All-India Swami Shraddhanand Memorial Fund organized by a committee of the Mahasabha; later they transformed it into a memorial trust.[90] Thus the passions stirred by this murder did not quickly die down, for various organizations kept them alive by their activities and the trial, followed by the execution of Abdul Rashid, produced another round of rioting in the streets of Delhi.[91]

Continued rioting in north India led to further attempts by each community to defend itself from what were seen as aggressive attacks by its opponents. On the occasion of Muharram in 1927 the city of Bareilly exploded into riots which were partially aimed at local Arya Samajists. This resulted in two types of reaction. Locally, meetings were held by Sikhs, Hindus, Jains, and Parsis to discuss what they

could do to protect themselves and how to present their grievances before the government. A second reaction took place in Delhi, when the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha met to consider the same issues. It was decided to hold a Mahasammelan (great conference) in Delhi of all Arya and Arya-related groups to plan for communal defence.[92] A joint meeting resulted early in November of the Sarvadeshik Pratinidhi Sabha, the Shuddhi Conference, the Dalit Udhar Conference, and the All-India Nau Aryan Conference. Almost immediately the delegates came into conflict with the local government when their proposed procession, planned to inaugurate the conference, was prohibited by Delhi officials. This refusal resulted in the establishment of a *satyagraha* subcommittee and threats of civil disobedience on the part of the Aryas. Numerous resolutions were passed and two new organizations came into being, the Arya Vir Dal and the Arya Raksha Samiti, both designed to provide an organized defence wing to the Samaj. It was considered that 10,000 volunteers and a defence fund of 50,000 rupees would be needed to effectively carry out the goals of these groups. The conference created a committee to begin collecting funds and organizing volunteers. They also planned to hold the next Mahasammelan in Bareilly in 1931.[93] During the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Lahore Arya Samaj, 2,000 volunteers were enlisted and 20,000 rupees collected.[94] The cycle of communal conflict leading to further conflict began to moderate in 1928, as once again nationalism moved to the forefront. For Delhi, however, the upsurge of Hindu–Muslim conflict in the mid-1920s saw the maturing of that city's role as the centre of organized Hinduism.

During the last decade before World War II, Hindu groups continued to meet in Delhi and to expand the functions of their headquarters in that city. The Hindu Mahasabha held its 1932 session in New Delhi, and during the same year celebrated the visit of His Highness Yudhvir Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal. For members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Nepal held great significance as the only independent Hindu kingdom in the world and a sign of their past greatness.[95] In 1933 Bhai Parmanand was elected President of the Hindu Mahasabha and began immediately to expand the Mahasabha offices as well as its functions in Delhi. Under his leadership the organization built the Hindu Mahasabha Bhavan with its meeting rooms, offices, and *dharmshala* located near the Birla Mandir on Mandir Marg in New Delhi. He also founded the

Hindu Outlook, an English weekly that remained the major voice of the Mahasabha into the 1950s.[96] Joining the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh sent its recruiters and cadres into Delhi and the northern provinces during the years 1937–8, bringing one of the few Hindu organizations not already represented in the city to Delhi and its surrounding territory.[97] Finally, the one element missing in Delhi was added early in 1939 with the consecration of the Lakshmi Narayan Temple on Mandir Marg near the Hindu Mahasabha Bhavan. Costing about 400,000 rupees, which was donated by Raja Baldeva Dasji Birla, this new temple would become the only *tīrtha* in the city, its sole Hindu place of pilgrimage. The opening of this temple was a logical product of the rising power of the Hindu majority in a city long dominated by non-Hindus. The *Hindu Outlook*'s response to this event was 'It is said that such a big and beautiful Temple was never built at Delhi since the days of the last Hindu Emperor—Prithvi Raj Chauhan.'[98] With the opening of the Birla Mandir the transformation of Delhi was complete: from a city with essentially no role within existent Hinduism, Delhi had become both the centre of Hindu organizations and even begun to achieve a limited role as a point of pilgrimage.

In its development as a centre of Hinduism, it became, however, related to a particular type of Hinduism, which used organizational forms adapted from the voluntary associations of the west, particularly from Protestant England. These new associations created within the Hindu community had all the elements of western organizations: presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers, an executive committee, a main body of members, bank accounts, and a series of monthly and yearly reports. The associations maintained other institutions with their own governing bodies and functions: reading rooms, libraries, schools, orphanages, and even missionary societies. To provide support for their many activities most associations maintained a publishing policy, even a separate press, from which came newspapers and journals, plus a stream of pamphlets, books, and new editions of the sacred scriptures, as well as reprints of literature produced by their own movement. Such associations and their allied institutions also held annual anniversary celebrations, sponsored local, regional, and national conferences, and conducted religious rituals. A few traditional forms of activity were adapted to this newer style of organization, such as ancient techniques of collecting alms and the long-standing tradition of formal, public religious

debates, the *shastrarth*; these were used at times fairly extensively. Nevertheless, the basic structure of voluntary associations was new to Hinduism and unknown prior to the nineteenth century. It is this kind of Hinduism which became centered in Delhi and created a new function for that city.

NOTES

1. *Kalyana, Tirthanka* (Gorakhpur, The Gita Press, 1957), p. 86.
2. Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Delhi District, 1912* (Lahore, 1913), p. 164.
3. C. F. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 29.
4. Punjab Government, *Delhi District, 1912*, p. 151.
5. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah*, pp. 34 and 41.
6. Ibid., p. 41.
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9. Ibid.
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11. N. Gerald Barrier, *Banned: Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India, 1907–1947* (University of Missouri Press, 1974), pp. 159 and 184. The transliteration used here is the author's.
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13. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah*, pp. 68–9.
14. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, pp. 1, 3, and 6–7.
15. Ibid., p. 8.
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18. Ibid., p. 45.
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21. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 43.
22. G. S. Chhabra, *The Advanced History of the Punjab*, vol. II (Ludhiana, 1962), p. 392.
23. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 36.
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25. Ibid., p. 15; also see p. 3.
26. Government of India, *SFVP, P, NWP, O, CP, 1876*, pp. 565–6. *Rahbar-i-Hind* for 10 October, and *SFVP, P, NWP, O, CP, 1877*, pp. 152–3, *Khair-Khwah-i-Alam* for 27 February.
27. Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Delhi District, 1883–84* (Calcutta, n.d.), p. 15.

28. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 63.
29. Ibid.
30 *Arya Patrika*, 8 June 1886, pp. 6–7.
31. Ibid., 7 September 1886, p. 7; 15 June 1886, pp. 1–4 and 8.
32. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, pp. 86 and 91.
33. Government of India, *SFVP, P, NWP, O, CP, 1883*, *Akmal-ul-Akhbar* of 16 October and pp. 892–3; the *Lytton Gazette* of 24 October.
34. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 84.
35. Government of India, *SFVP, NWF, O, CP, 1886*, p. 859, the *Salafa-i-Qudsi* of 4 November and the volume for 1888, pp. 11–12, the *Punjabi Akhbar* of 7 April.
36. Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Delhi District, 1883–4*, pp. 63–4; Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 620; also for information on Muslim attitudes, see Government of India, *SFVP, P, 1888*, pp. 11–12 (*Punjabi Akhbar*, 7 April), and pp. 43–4 (*Akmal-ul-Akhbar*, 4 May).
37. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 65.
38. Government of India, *Census of India, 1881, the Punjab*, Volume I. *The Report of the Census* (Calcutta, 1882), p. 151. The second largest group of Christians, 529, was found in the Lahore District.
39. Pandit Harihar Swarup Sharma, an untitled, unfinished, and unpublished Hindi biography of Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma by his eldest son, Pandit Harihar Swarup Sharma. A printed version of this manuscript is now in the possession of the author. (Hereafter cited as Sharma, *Biography*), p. 24.
40. Ibid., pp. 40–2.
41. Ibid., pp. 44–5.
42. Ibid., p. 45.
43. Ibid., p. 46.
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45. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1919), p. 316. This is a frustratingly vague reference which contains very little information except that Pandit Din Dayalu was one of the individuals who founded the Sanatan Dharm Sabha movement, but beyond that nothing.
46. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, pp. 87–8.
47. Ibid., p. 120.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 122.
50. Ibid., pp. 124 and 140.
51. G. R. Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations in British India. A Study of Controversy, Conflict, and Communal Movements in Northern India, 1923–28* (Leiden, Holland, 1975), p. 80. Also see *SFVP, P, 1892*, pp. 261–2 (*Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 6 August); *SFVP, P, 1893*, pp. 305–6 (*Paisa Akhbar*, 12 June); *SFVP, P, 1894*, p. 221 (*Akhbar-i-Am*, 17 May); and *SFVP, P, 1895*, pp. 270–1 (*Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 May).
52. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 91; also see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (University of California Press, 1976), pp. 193–200; and Indra Prakash, *A Review of the History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement* (New Delhi, 1952), p. 53. Indra Prakash discusses a murder of one Lala Nanak Chand, an Arya Samajist, that supposedly took place at the Delhi Railway Station probably in 1897, but there is no corroborating data on this.

53. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 91.
54. Sharma, *Autobiography*, p. 148.
55. Ibid., pp. 148–53.
56. Ibid., pp. 184 and 186.
57. Ibid., p. 190.
58. Ibid., p. 259.
59. Indra Vidyawachaspati, *Arya Samaj ka Itihas*, vol. II (Delhi, 1957), p. 44.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 45.
62. *Tribune*, 5 August 1906, p. 3; and 31 October 1907, p. 3.
63. Ibid., 11 February 1906, p. 2; also Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Delhi District, 1912*, p. 12.
64. See the *Tribune*, 19 October 1912, pp. 2–3 and 23 October 1912, p. 2. A description of this conference can also be found in Indra Prakash, *The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement*, p. 15. He mistakenly labels it the second annual meeting of the Punjab Hindu Conference.
65. *Tribune*, 6 October 1913, p. 5.
66. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 150.
67. Ibid., p. 145.
68. Ibid., p. 146.
69. Ibid., p. 145; also see p. 148.
70. Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations*, p. 25.
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72. Sangat Singh, *Freedom Movement*, p. 136.
73. Government of India, *SFVP, P, 1909*, pp. 273–274; the *Akash* (Delhi), 18 March.
74. Government of India, *SFVP, P, 1902*, p. 572; *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 27 September; *SFVP, P, 1911*, pp. 347–8; *Arya Patrika* (Lahore), 1 April.
75. Swami Shraddhanand, *Hindu Sangathan, Saviour of the Dying Race* (Delhi, Arjun Press, 1924), p. 108.
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78. Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations*, p. 160.
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80. Shraddhanand, *Hindu Sangathan*, pp. 115–16.
81. Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations*, p. 6.
82. Thursby states that the Shuddhi Sabha had its headquarters in Delhi, but this is not correct. The Sabha's offices were located in Agra. See Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations*, p. 83. For contrary evidence, see *Bhāratīya Hindū Shuddhi Sabhā kī Pratham Vārshik Report* (Agra, Samvat 1980); also see the annual reports which followed through 1927 and the statement in Indra Vidyawachaspati, *Mere Pita* (Delhi, Vikrami Samvat 2013), p. 163.
83. Indra Vidyawachaspati, *Mere Pita*, p. 163.
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85. Lala Lajpat Rai, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. II, ed. V. C. Joshi (Delhi, 1966), p. 173; also see Swami Shraddhanand, *Inside Congress*, pp. 196–7.
86. Indra Prakash, *The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement*, p. 45 and also see p. 43.

87. Sharma, *Autobiography*, p. 169.
88. See Indra Prakash, *The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement*, p. 45, and Thursby, *Hindu–Muslim Relations*, p. 178.
89. Indra Prakash, *The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement*, gives the date of Shraddhanand's assassination as 24 December 1927, but the actual date is the 23rd. See Indra Vidyawachaspati, *Arya Samaj*, vol. II, pp. 148–9; also see M. R. Jambunathan, *Swami Shraddhanand* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 163–4. To confuse the matter further the *Balidan-Jyanti-Smriti-Granth* (Jullundur, 1962), p. 98 gives the date as 26 December but this appears to be a typesetting error.
90. Indra Prakash, *The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangathan Movement*, p. 59.
91. Ibid., p. 57.
92. Indra Vidyawachaspati, *Arya Samaj*, vol. II, p. 157, and Satya Dev Vidyalankar, *Jivan-Sandarsh* (Delhi, 1964), p. 108.
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III MODERN DELHI AND NEW DELHI

THE CORONATION DURBAR OF 1911
Some Implications

R. E. FRYKENBERG

The decision to move the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi may now be seen as a significant event in the history both of the Raj and of the subcontinent. Unfortunately, the decision itself together with its ramifications has never been fully studied. Insufficient hard, empirical data have been gathered and little analysis done. Yet, enough is now known for us to be able, at the very least, to pose important questions and perhaps to suggest some lines of enquiry which might yet be taken.

Of one thing there can be no doubt. The decision to move the seat of Supreme Government from Calcutta was intimately linked both to the partition of Bengal and to its revocation. The decision seems, on its very face, to have been as much negative as positive. It was as much a blow to Bengali national aspirations as it was a 'boon', whether royal or imperial, to the peoples of India. It seems, at least implicitly, to have been aimed as much at the obstreperousness of the 'Babu' gentry (*bhadralok*) of Bengal as a reassertion of imperial authority. If, in vivid expressions of imperial grandeur, pageantry, and power, some saw it as the ultimate 'high noon' of British arrogance and pomp, there were (and are) others who saw it more as a more pathetic and petty spectacle, and a harbinger of dire events. By such reckoning, the decision by its very foolishness and vanity could be seen as a lengthening of shadows on a day which all too soon would be done and on a rulership which would be gone. It signalled, in

Acknowledgement must be made to Laura Spurrier. It was she who, working under my direction over a decade ago, did much preliminary digging. The topic was one which had long interested me and which I assigned to her in hopes that she would make it the basis for research on a doctoral dissertation. Alas, such was not to be. She did not continue her graduate studies at Wisconsin; and I have yet to see the hope realized.

other words, an eventual ending *both* of British and of Bengali hegemony in India.

Thus, what ostensibly began with the dividing of Bengal in 1905 and what ostensibly ended with its reuniting in 1912, albeit in truncated form (minus Assam, Bihar, and Orissa), can really be seen as having had much more far-reaching, and even prophetic implications. Bengal, first of all, would never again be quite the same. But it was Calcutta—the former 'City of Palaces' which had once presided over the gradual integration of the whole subcontinent and which had cast the shadow of sway across the entire Indian Ocean (from Mombasa and Muscat to Malacca)—which would suffer the disastrous loss of its primacy. The heart of an enormous body-politic suffered the consequences of a drastic and indeed gigantic piece of 'transplant' and 'by-pass' surgery. Calcutta was abandoned, together with all the infrastructure of its highly trained local personnel and of its intricate local support systems which had grown up during the previous three centuries. As more and more of the life-blood of policy-making, power, and prestige was diverted—gradually being re-routed or switched over to a new, completely 'artificial' or 'synthetic' substitute—Calcutta's role shrivelled up and it suffered from various forms of cardiac arrest, sclerosis and failure. For this, no easy remedy could be found. Indeed, for Calcutta, as for Bengal and for India as a whole, the transfer of power to another capital in New Delhi was to have profound and irreversible consequences.

In order to appreciate the significance of these consequences, however, we must briefly review essential facts behind the partition of Bengal, events leading to the Coronation Durbar, the Coronation Durbar itself, some immediate reactions to the Delhi Announcement, and some long-term repercussions of the transfer of power to New Delhi.

The Bengal Presidency originally included all of north India, right up to the Khyber Pass. It had all been ruled, in one way or another, from Calcutta (and, in the hot weather, from Simla). But whereas the Lieutenant-Governors of other provinces within the Presidency had at least possessed separate seats of government and certain degrees of autonomy engendered by distance, the seat for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had remained in Calcutta, directly right under the thumb of the Governor-General-in-Council. In 1903, Bengal as a province was also an enormous and unwieldy accretion of sub-provinces, such as Assam, Bihar, and Orissa. It contained nearly 80

million people and covered 189,000 square miles of territory.[1] Its Lieutenant-Governor, with his five secretaries (three civilians and two engineers) and his district officers, could not cope with all the demands being made. The province was so undermanned that it was perceived, at least by the central government, to be all but ungovernable.[2] Local landed gentry, and local servants working for absentee landed gentry (*bhadralok*) who lived in Calcutta, had long done most of the governing and had done so in such a way as to exclude direct government control as much as possible in ruling over their vast holdings. These consisted of scores, even hundreds of villages.

The idea of breaking Bengal into smaller, more governable units was far from new. It could be traced back at least to the time of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Stafford Northcote (1868).[3] Assam had been put under a Chief-Commissioner in 1874.[4] Indeed, fresh proposals had been circulating in secretariat offices for some time when Lord Curzon stumbled onto the issue in 1903.[5] What brought it up was the disposal of Berar, which had just been surrendered (to direct rule) by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Sir Andrew Fraser, when consulted on the matter, also suggested assigning the Bengal districts of Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh to Assam. The districts were politically turbulent. As the new Lieutenant-Governor, he was anxious to get rid of them and to reduce the size of his responsibility. Besides, 'the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character', in his opinion, 'would be more easily reduced to [a] proper level of importance if transferred to another administration.'[6] Curzon took to the idea, giving it his blessing on 1 June. The plan was made public in December.[7]

The mere mention of this possibility, however, was enough to set off a chain reaction of protest meetings and demonstrations (300 in January 1904 alone).[8] At least three fears aroused the *bhadralok* of these eastern districts: (1) even as a dominant minority, they would be surrounded and endangered, swamped by the Muslim majority and separated from their 'Hindu' or non-Muslim 'brethren' in Calcutta and western districts; (2) they would be cut off and separated from Calcutta, with a loss of opportunities and loss of contact with their cultural centre; and (3) they would be forced into contact with the 'naked barbarians' of Assam and pushed into a trackless wilderness.[9]

Lord Curzon's response to what he considered 'mere sentiment'

was politically less than astute.[10] His bid to gain popular support in the affected districts, especially his appeals to poor, backward Muslims, merely aggravated the situation, serving to emphasise social divisions and to exacerbate communal tensions.[11] His bid to counter local European opposition by transferring more districts to Assam, while it may have provided a strong economic potential for the new province, did nothing to alleviate *bhadralok* fears.[12] His ignoring counter-proposals and alternative plans for reducing the size of the province without cutting Bengal itself in half simply completed the process of alienation.[13] As he saw the various advantages of his scheme during 1904, he became more and more determined. His final decision, sent by the Government of India to London in February 1905, was approved with minor modifications in June and published in July.[14] Bengal was to be split right down the middle. The new province, called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam', would have the old Muslim city of Dacca as its capital and would come into being on 16 October 1905. Curzon himself, having left in August, never had to face the direct consequences of his decision.

The storm which resulted lasted almost five years. Those who felt that their homeland had been callously cut in half never forgot and never relented their bitterness and opposition. A sinister plot to divide Bengalis and to break up an embryonic national movement could never be accepted. When verbal appeals, petitions, and pamphlets seemed of no avail, protests became violent.[15] Boycotts became more frequent, better organized, and more widely spread. Spurning appeals to 'reason', 'justice' and 'order', activist brigades, clubs, societies, trade unions, and other voluntary groups turned to direct confrontations and use of force.[16] They drew upon Bengali patriotism and religious devotionalism (*bhakti*) for inspiration. Secret terrorist societies launched a campaign of assassination and bomb-explosions.[17] An escalating cycle of terror, repression, and retaliation brought arrests, preventive detention, deportation, strict press censorship, and stiff penalties.[18] Mounting general disapproval of assassinations turned the tide of public opinion, driving the terrorists underground, isolating extremists, and quieting the more moderate. The 1907 split within the Indian National Congress between the Gokhale-led 'Moderates' and Tilak-led 'Extremists', and the 1908 deportation of Tilak severely weakened the protest movement.[19] Agitation began to die down in 1909; and by 1910 the crisis was largely over.

But by then, much had changed and more changes were coming. Even before the Congress had split, Muslim leaders had gathered in Dacca (on 30 December 1906) 'to unite in an association so as to make their voice heard above the din of vociferous parties;'[20] and by 25 May 1909, a new Indian Councils Act (the Morley–Minto Reforms) had become law, bringing reserved seats and separate electorates.[21] Early in 1910, the Government, believing agitation to be over, released those who had been deported without trial. A rapid succession of events in the following months changed the situation. King Edward VII died (in May); Lord Minto was replaced as Viceroy (in June) by Sir Charles Hardinge (soon Lord Hardinge); and in November Lord Crewe replaced Lord Morley as Secretary of State. The new King, George V, had visited India in 1905–6. He had come away convinced that the partition of Bengal had been a big mistake. Determined to have a Coronation Durbar in India, the King was equally determined that the major boon, which his coming to India required, would consist of a revocation of the partition.[22]

Ministers first seem to have learned of a possible durbar in India during September of 1910. There was a considerable lack of enthusiasm for the idea; and several tried in vain to dissuade the King. The Asquith Cabinet approved the idea in November; and their decision came to Lord Hardinge the day he arrived in India (18 November). The King himself officially announced his intention at the opening of Parliament on 6 February 1911.[23] The occasion would be the first time that a reigning British monarch visited India.

Whatever the public praise and the private doubts, the very first serious question raised pertained to the finding of a suitable boon. It was seen as an 'almost impossible problem'—somewhat like trying to gratify all Europe in a single act. 'The crucial point,' stressed by Lord Crewe, 'was the provision of "some permanent benefit or grant".'[24] Crewe doubted whether he could 'persuade the Cabinet to agree to anything handsome'—such as massive technical education or assumption of the Indian Establishment in London by Britain.[25]

The idea of reuniting Bengal and of making the revocation of the partition the boon for India seems to have been well known to a small circle around the King by December.[26] Whether or not it was the King himself who originated the idea is not clear and will probably never be known. Sir Arthur Bigge, the King's Private Secretary,

wrote to Hardinge about it on 13 December. Crewe mentioned the matter in his letter to Hardinge three days later, indicating that he was strongly sceptical.[27] Minto learned of the idea and opposed it. Morley, taking over briefly in March 1911, while Crewe was recovering from a concussion, complained to Curzon that he and the India Office had been 'kept in grim and stern ignorance of the details.'[28] Whatever the case, King George himself welcomed the idea and took it as his own. Writing to the Viceroy on 16 December, he hoped that Hardinge would consult all the best men in India 'to consider what would be the best way to mark the fact of the first visit of the King-Emperor to India.' He suggested: 'Why not make the two Bengals into a Presidency like Bombay and Madras? This would flatter the Bengalis very much, allay discontent and stop sedition, and would be well worth the extra cost to the country. Think it over!'[29]

Hardinge did think it over; and he did not like it. Tactfully, he promised to look into the matter. But to reverse such a decision seemed unthinkable. To return to what had existed before 1905 seemed out of the question. To have two Chief-Commissioners, each governing half of Bengal and each answering to a Governor of a new Presidency, seemed unworkable. To have a Governor of a Presidency and a Viceroy both residing officially in Calcutta seemed too confusing.[30] Other members of the Government of India did not like the idea. Nor, despite the King's arguments, did the Secretary of State.

Nevertheless, rather off-handedly, Lord Crewe did point out that the only way to make the King's scheme workable would be for Calcutta to be made into a special imperial enclave, separated from the Presidency; and, for the Governor of a reunited Presidency of Bengal to have his capital at Dacca.[31] Writing to Hardinge in late January, Crewe stressed a need to face all possible alternatives and a reluctance 'to abandon all hope of finding a way out until every path [had] been tried.'[32] Members of Council joined Hardinge in opposing both the idea of a special enclave at Calcutta to serve as the imperial capital and the idea of revoking the partition.[33] Sir John (James?) Jenkins, Home Member, pointed out that making Calcutta into a special enclave and separating it from the rest of Bengal would cause every bit as much resentment as had the partition itself.[34] Ideally, he thought, there ought to be a special capital enclave which was clearly set apart from provincial capitals and from other great commercial and industrial centres. Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the

United States could be cited as successful examples. But the difficulties seemed too insuperable.

Yet, even while the idea of revoking the partition seemed to have been given up or to have gone into abeyance, with sighs of relief from all but the King, the problem of the boon remained. Every idea seemed to cost too much. Bigge informed Hardinge that 'the Government was becoming frightened about the expense of the visit.'[35] Labour M.P.s were asking 'disagreeable' questions; and Tory whips were regretting the whole idea of a Royal visit.[36] When Curzon, altogether opposing the idea, compared proposed costs with those of the durbar he himself had organized in 1903, and when Morley, in private communication, seemed to be taking Curzon too seriously, those in power were incensed. Lord Crewe, having recovered and returned to the India Office to relieve Lord Morley, spoke out against 'George Curzon's peculiar incapacity for understanding what is, and what is not, the proper occasion for interfering in other people's affairs.'[37] Thus, while the Commons voted money for the royal journey and for the durbar, the problem of what would serve as an adequate and fitting boon remained.[38]

It was Sir James (John?) Jenkins who finally ended the stalemate and whose 'masterstroke of invention' provided the solution. Writing to the Governor-General, on 17 June 1911, he proposed revoking the partition, redrawing the provincial boundaries of Bengal, and transferring the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi—all at one blow.[39] Lord Hardinge, later recalling Jenkin's suggestion, wrote: 'It was brought home to me that if there was to be peace in the two Bengals, it was absolutely necessary to do something to remove what was regarded by all Bengalis as an act of flagrant injustice without justification. There was, at the same time, a feeling of expectancy abroad that something would be done at the time of the Durbar to remove this injustice, and I appreciated that fact that, if nothing were done, we would have to be prepared for ever more serious trouble in the future than in the past in Bengal.'[40] The possibility that Bengalis might constitute disruptive minorities within the Legislative Councils of both East and West Bengal, as then constituted, had not been overlooked by Jenkins. Bengali objections arose from more than 'mere sentiment'; moreover, even such sentiment could no longer be ignored. That Bengali discontent might become 'a traditional demand based on racial reasons, like Home Rule for Ireland', was too terrible to contemplate.[41]

This complete reversal of opinion, first in Calcutta and then in London, has yet to be satisfactorily explained. Lord Hardinge was later to excuse it by pleading that, having just arrived in India, he had at first been ignorant of the full situation and had been obliged to take the advice of his Council. Whatever the case, his Council gave him unanimous support.[42] Thereafter, things moved rapidly. The Government of India sent its recommendation (with supporting views) on 19 July; Lord Crewe wired his approval on 25 July; and 'entire support and authority to proceed' was sent on 7 August.[43] All was done in extreme secrecy. Wires were kept in a private code. Even Council notes were typed out by the nurse for Hardinge's daughter. 'I had already drafted', he was later to recall, 'an official despatch to Crewe, setting forth my scheme in elaborate detail. [But] when I understood that it was to be for ultimate publication, I revised it; and after certain modifications suggested by Members of my Council, it assumed the form in which it was eventually published as a State paper.'[44] The date on that despatch was 25 August 1911.[45]

Brilliant sunshine and colour welcomed the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress as they stepped ashore at Apollo Bundar. (The 'Gateway of India' would later be erected on the spot to commemorate the event). The Viceroy of India formally welcomed them, as did the Governor of Bombay and the President of the Bombay Corporation. After George V replied briefly, the entire official entourage moved in stately procession through tremendous crowds of cheering people and down gaily decorated streets.[46] Five days later, on 7 December 1911, the royal train reached Delhi. Again met by the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, the royal couple received formal homage from the highest officials of the Raj. Over a hundred princes were formally presented.[47] The entire gathering of imperial functionaries, together with their many attendants, then commenced upon the formal State Entry into Delhi.

George V, having flatly refused to mount the Royal Elephant urged upon him by Lord Hardinge, rode a horse.[48] Little did he realize that few in the vast crowds would be able to pick him out midst the cavalcade. Before him, down avenues lined with soldiers, pranced squadrons of Dragoons, Guards, and Lancers, their polished gear and harness glistening in the sunlight. Through the Red Fort (Lal Qila) and onto the great *maidan* between the Fort and the Jami

Masjid, the parade then moved straight down the most famous street of Delhi, passing vast, brightly-dressed crowds and festooned archways of welcome.[49] The *Times* correspondent reported: 'To look down the Chandni Chowk this morning was to compel vain searchings for similes . . . like Dutch bulb gardens in early spring, like mountain valleys in June; but . . . like nothing else in the world except Delhi making holiday.'[50] Slowly the great, five-mile-long procession moved along until, at last, it reached the imperial encampment on the far side of the city, to its north and west. Here the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress were escorted to their own pavilions. The State Entry was over.

Five days later, on 12 December, the Coronation Durbar itself was held. Preparations had been going on for over a year, ever since Lord Hardinge had first arrived in India. He had appointed Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, to head the Durbar Committee, and had carefully kept himself informed of each development and each detail of protocol.[51] Endless discussions had ensued. The King-Emperor, it had been decided, would appear wearing a newly made special Imperial Crown of India which, costing some sixty thousand pounds sterling and considered too dangerous to leave behind, would later be placed in the Tower of London, with other Royal Regalia.[52] The site had been just as carefully prepared, with details arranged down to the smallest point. A huge reviewing ground (*maidan*), a great open-air amphitheatre, and an imperial encampment had been constructed on the plain which was to the north and west of the city. The pavilions and tents and *shamianas* of the King-Emperor lay in the centre of the camp, while those of high officials and princes surrounded it in strict order of precedence. A miniature railway connected the encampment grounds with the amphitheatre and maidan. Accommodations for an influx of over two hundred thousand visitors had been made ready for the occasion.[53]

The day itself dawned bright and clear and cool. Long before noon the huge amphitheatre began to fill up. Officials resplendent in full dress uniforms; princes arrayed from head-to-foot (*sar-o-pa*) in a rainbow of coloured turbans, tunics, slippers, jewels, and swords; ladies in court gowns and saris of gorgeous colour; and spectators, mostly in white, from all walks of life: over a hundred thousand waited for the event to begin.[54] The Durbar itself began with the formal entry of army veterans from past wars. These were led by more than a hundred survivors of the Great Mutiny. Next came the

Viceroy and Lady Hardinge. Their open carriage was escorted by mounted squadrons of Dragoons and Lancers. Massed ranks of troops presented arms and dipped regimental colours as the Governor-General, wearing the robes of the Order of the Star in India, alighted. Shortly after Lord and Lady Hardinge were taken to their seats, the distant sight of bobbing white helmets indicated the approach of the mounted Royal Escort. This was led by the Hussars, the Royal Horse Artillery, and the Guards of Honour, with the Imperial Cadet Corps and the Lancers coming behind. As a 101-gun salute began to echo and as rolling drums and a fanfare of trumpets sounded, the entire throng came to its feet. The royal landau arrived at the double-tiered dais. The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress, arrayed in their crowns and coronation robes of ermine-lined deep purple were greeted by the Viceroy and led to gilt chairs on the dais. Lords and ladies-in-waiting, bearers of emblems, and young princes acting as pages followed and took their places. As the sounds of salutes and cheering died away, a hush of anticipation fell upon all.[55]

At this point, Sir Henry McMahon, Master of Ceremonies, approached and asked permission to open the proceedings.[56] Again there was a roll of drums and a flourish of trumpets. The King rose to his feet and delivered a short address. He indicated joy and thankfulness at being able to come to Delhi, to announce in person his Coronation which had been celebrated in Westminster Abbey on 22 June, to renew past pledges to maintain rights and privileges in India, and to express earnest concern for the welfare, peace, and contentment of India's peoples. Recalling with gratitude his previous visit to India, he voiced bright hopes for the future and tendered his 'loving greetings' to all present.[57] After the loud cheering had subsided, all of the great notables of India came forward, one by one, to do homage. The Governor-General approached, bowed, kissed the royal hand, and stepped back. The Commander-in-Chief saluted. Members of Council bowed. Princes, each according to custom, bowed, bent low, *salaamed*, made *namaskars*, placed swords on the ground, or tendered their submission by other gestures. From fan-turbaned Rajput to gilt-pagoda-crowned Shan Chief to burka-covered Begum of Bhopal (in tennis shoes), each made obeisance in turn.[58] (Only the Gaekwar brought a slight stir when, after a perfunctory bow, he turned his back to the Royal Presence).[59] Then, in rank order came Governors, High Court Justices, and high members of the Civil, Military, and Political Services.[60] The lengthy ceremony now completed,

the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress stood up, turned, and, with great dignity, slowly mounted steps to thrones upon the upper dais. This being done and their royal attendants having arranged themselves below the thrones, the Herald of Delhi (General Peyton) rode forth on horseback, followed by the Assistant Herald. To each and to all, first in English and then in Urdu, they read out a simple Royal Proclamation. This announced that George V had now in fact become the King-Emperor, that he had been duly installed in a solemn coronation, that he wished to make this fact known to his 'loving Indian subjects', and that his constant concern was the welfare and prosperity of his Indian empire.[61] Ending with a shout of 'God Save the King-Emperor!', there followed yet another artillery salute, trumpet fanfare, and rolling of drums to the playing of 'God Save Our Gracious King'.

But all was not yet over. It was now time for the conferring of boons, benefits, and favours in honour of the occasion. Lord Hardinge stepped forward to read the list. These boons, commencing with the smallest mounted upward step by step: money for the advancement of education; half a month's extra salary for all government servants in India; certain new classes of awards and medals for meritorious service; badges and grants to holders of honorary titles; remissions of debts and taxes in certain areas (in Gujarat, Kathiawar, &c); and release of prisoners from jails. The reading ended with another invocation of 'God Save the King-Emperor!' and with a loud round of cheers led by the Herald.[62]

The Durbar itself seemed, at this point, to be over. The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress descended to the lower dais; the mounted Heralds retired from the arena; and the trumpets sounded a final fanfare. Then suddenly, to the surprise of all, the King-Emperor took a document from Hardinge's hand and began to read in a loud voice: 'We are pleased to announce to our people that, on the advice of our Ministers, tendered after consultation with our Governor-General in Council, we have decided upon the transfer of the Seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of Delhi, and, simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a new Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of one Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and of a Chief-Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as our Governor-General in Council,

with the approval of our Secretary of State in Council, may in due course determine.'[63]

A moment of profound, total silence followed. All realized 'that the King-Emperor had made an extraordinarily dramatic statement of his intentions . . . It was the act of Kingship, the manner and the suddenness of the disclosure rather than its actual nature, which held everyone spellbound.'[64] Few accept those immediately within the sound of the King-Emperor's voice grasped the meaning of what had been said. But the news quickly spread. Seals on bundles of a special issue of the Official Gazette, which had been secretly printed and tightly guarded within the durbar camp, had been broken during the announcement and were rapidly being circulated to all who were present.[65] After some more wild cheering, yet another playing of the national anthem and a final artillery salute, the royal party made a dignified departure from the amphitheatre and returned to the Royal Pavilion. The Coronation Durbar was officially over.

But, as the crowds only slowly dispersed still buzzing with excitement, a curious incident occurred. 'Some bare-headed people approached the dais and bent themselves double before the thrones that, a short time before, had been occupied by the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress. Their attitude was so reverent that it almost seemed that the 'White Maharaja and Maharani' had been included in the Hindu pantheon . . . and that their devotees were performing worship [*puja*] before the empty chairs.'[66] Something almost pathetic, a harbinger of things to come, could be evoked from this final, almost futile gesture. The people who did *puja* were Bengalis. Bengalis had most recently and vividly been attracting notice with acts of terrorism and violent protest in the name of *Bande Mataram*. Yet, for three centuries, there had been a symbiotic relationship between Bengalis and Britons. This relationship, begun in Calcutta, had grown with the Raj itself until it had encompassed the entire subcontinent. Moreover the gentry of Bengal had benefitted fully as much as those Europeans who had come for private gain or who, with them, had served the Raj. This bitter-sweet flavour, symbolically marking the simultaneous abandonment of Calcutta (and Bengal) and revocation of the Bengal partition, did not escape unnoticed.[67]

The decision to move the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi was received, on the whole, quite as one might have expected. Reactions

in India depended upon where they had originated and from whom. Virtually all opinion outside Bengal, especially outside Calcutta, tended to be either enthusiastic or indifferent. The people of Delhi were delighted, if not ecstatic. Their city had regained its rightful place. Any action 'restoring to Delhi what was Delhi's from all time, and ringing joy and happiness into the hearts of India from end to end', could hardly be questioned, no matter what happened to Bengal or Calcutta.[68] People of the United Provinces, Panjab, and Rajputana, realizing their new proximity to the centres of power, were almost as pleased. Bombay, long resentful of Calcutta's supremacy, was not sad to see the humbling of a rival.[69] As for Madras and other cities, they remained largely unruffled.

In Bengal itself, however, only the most large-minded and nationalistic of the moderates were satisfied; and even then, not without some pangs over Calcutta. 'The Bengalis of the two Bengals were enthusiastic over the reunion of their province,' Lord Hardinge later recollected; but 'they would of course have preferred that Calcutta should remain the Capital so that they might still be able to exercise the same undue influence on the Viceroy's Council and in the Legislative Assembly.'[70] Congress Moderates under the leadership of Surendranath Banerji felt vindicated. Their repudiation of cries for immediate self-rule (*swaraj*) and of terrorist violence seemed to have paid off. A petition for 'annulment' of the partition, laid before Lord Crewe by Bhupendranath Basu on behalf of the Indian Association, and pleas of William Wedderburn, head of the British Committee of the Congress, along with a parallel memorial to the Government of India, seemed to have also had some effect, especially in light of the similar wording of Hardinge's despatch of 25 August 1911.[71] It is no wonder, therefore, that Banerji should have proposed a reception for George V in Calcutta.

Most Calcutta gentry, on the other hand, seem to have been anything but enthusiastic. 'They have wiped our eyes and knocked out one eye in doing so,' was how one observer described the Delhi Announcement.[72] Some blamed terrorists for bringing such loss to Calcutta. Many, especially those with property in Calcutta, feared financial loss. Indeed, a general rush to sell shares in land companies and a drastic drop in the value of government paper did seem to justify such fears.[73] Lord Crewe expressly forewarned Lord Carmichael, newly appointed Governor of Bengal, that even though Banerji had given orders against Bengalis treating 'the loss of the

capital . . . as a public grievance', he would certainly find 'some sulks in Calcutta itself.'[74]

The Europeans of Calcutta felt the loss even more deeply. Newspapers, while not daring to attack the King directly, turned on the Government. *The Statesman* headed one leader 'H.M.G.'—by which it meant not 'His Majesty's Government' but 'Hardinge Must Go!'[75] *The Englishman*, venting its indignation on 13 December, declared: '[T]he Government is making a grave mistake. To run away from Bengal to Delhi is as bad as, or worse than, remaining in Simla all through the year. . . . If the Government goes to Delhi, Calcutta will suffer.' As if calling down a curse upon 'the unhappy desecrators of Calcutta', it warned that those going to Delhi would suffer from 'the swamps and heat, the boils and blains, the snakes and insects' and much more.[76] As if to frighten the superstitious, the foundation stones of the new capital were described as actually consisting of tombstones. Any and every bad omen was seized upon and magnified.

Hurt pride and loss of privilege were perhaps what caused the greatest indignation. The merchants and notables of Calcutta had long been accustomed to direct access to power. They had also kept lobbyists in Whitehall and Westminster. That there had not been any prior notification nor any prior request for their views was especially upsetting. In many eyes, the Government of India having put its foot on a slippery slope, there was no telling where British rule itself might end.[77] Deputations went from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to London, pleading for some modification of the decision. But no such efforts were of any avail.[78] Indeed, *The Times*, having first reported on outraged sentiments in Calcutta, soon took pains to show that 'Calcutta regard[ed] the shearing of its glories with calmness.'[79] Yet this seems to have been far from the truth. Most of the 'public' of Calcutta were worried: the future looked bleak.

But it was the Bengali Muslims who were the most deeply affected; they felt betrayed. Many of them were poor, badly educated, and only recently aroused to political consciousness. They had viewed the partition as their great opportunity. The formation of Eastern Bengal and Assam as a province had given them a taste of influence and power. The number of Muslims in official positions had gone up dramatically. Having 'almost to a man' supported the partition and refused to join agitations against it, they had counted upon assurances that it was a 'settled fact' which would never be revoked. For them the Delhi Durbar Announcement brought shock and anger.[80] For

them the Delhi of past Mughal glories held no promise. Mass meetings and rallies were called.[81] The Nawab of Dacca expressed his indignation; and Al Mamun Surhawardy of the Bengal Legislative Council informed Curzon that Muslims 'had lost all faith in the word of the British Government.'[82] No matter what the Government tried to say or do, the Muslims would not allow themselves to be placated. 'Convinced that the Government only gave heed to clamour and agitation, a bitter jest, "No bombs, no boons!", was passed among them.'[83] Loyalty to the Raj was set aside in favour of 'self-government suitable for India'. Loyalists who had founded the Muslim League hardly five years before were shoved aside. Wheels of distrust and suspicion were set in motion, insomuch that, by 1916, the League was ready to join the Congress in making fresh demands.[84]

Meanwhile, reactions in Britain were more ambivalent. Public opinion was stirred by tales of the Crown's 'triumphal progress' throughout the royal visit to India. The King-Emperor was acknowledged as the originator not only of the Coronation Durbar but also of the Durbar Announcement itself. 'The King himself played the greatest part,' in modifying and revoking the partition of Bengal. 'It was his decision to go to India that created the boon problem and he at once saw the solution which was ultimately adopted. Of all the major figures, he alone did not reverse his position.'[85] If such indeed was the case, the press seems to have aided and abetted an apparent assertion of personal and autocratic sovereignty. *The Times*, 'too stately to condemn an announcement made at a coronation and too loyal to criticize the King', was followed by *The Spectator*, *The Economist*, and other papers. Only *The Quarterly Review*, it seems, dared to criticize.[86]

But once the royal visit was over and implications of what had been done began to sink in, expressions of concern began to surface. These, by and large, focused upon two issues. A small number of 'Anglo-Indians' and others who were concerned about the permanence of the Raj and the strength of the Indian Empire focused attention upon what the consequences of the Delhi Announcement would be for India itself. This group had already been voicing objections to members of the Cabinet long before the final decision had been made.[87] Moreover, many of the same criticisms were to be used by the Opposition—namely, that such a radical change would cause alienation in Bengal and Calcutta; that expert opinion ought to have been more fully solicited before making such a decision; that ministerial

responsibility was being shirked; and that the King's announcement could provoke considerable controversy and perhaps a constitutional crisis.[88]

It is the constitutional issue, however, which was to be the more immediately serious and touchy. The Durbar Announcement was read in Parliament on 12 December 1911, the very day it was being read in Delhi.[89] Opposition leaders had been informed of it the night before. These leaders immediately stood up, both in the Commons and the Lords, to declare that matters 'of the utmost gravity' were at stake and that the announced changes would, as Lord Lansdowne put it, raise 'such grave issues that no consideration . . . would justify us in hurriedly passing a judgment upon them or in doing anything which might hereafter be regarded as depriving us of our right of freely criticizing what is suggested.'[90] Yet it was precisely this right which had already been circumvented. What had been secretly decided within the confines of the Government of India and the Cabinet and what had been openly proclaimed by the King could not be revoked. While an Act of Parliament was required to legislate the announced decision, the King's word was itself 'irrevocable'.[91] Such a constitutional dilemma (or paradox) could not be allowed to surface without deep national embarrassment for Britain. Public embarrassment and humiliation of the whole realm on a matter such as this was more than even the Opposition was prepared to allow. Thus, while various questions were indeed raised, they were raised only in the most discreet, oblique, and polite terms. The Delhi Durbar Announcement was never seriously in danger of being challenged. In this instance, at least, the King himself seems to have declared and announced the law and Parliament later felt obliged to ratify it.

The decision to shift the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi cannot be separated from the problems of trying simultaneously to govern both Bengal and all of India from a base in Bengal. The two issues became inextricably linked and the decision therefore must be seen in that background. Attempts to solve the problems of Bengal, and Bengali public pressure had led Curzon to decide on the partition; and this, in turn, had obliged Minto to struggle with the consequences of the partition, which had led to four years of mounting opposition and violence.

Whether or not the motives which prompted the decision to partition Bengal were benign or malignant, simple or sinister, the fact remains that, once the decision had been made, it set in motion a train

of events and brought about such a fundamentally altered situation that the motives become irrelevant. Thus, whether or not there actually were 'divide-and-rule' motives—and what political power has ever existed which tried to unite its foes or to weaken its own power to govern?—there never could have been an explosion of chauvinistic and Bengali nationalistic indignation, nor any conflagration of communal animosity had there not already existed a combination of combustible or highly volatile elements. Moreover, whatever the previous motives may have been, once this combustible combination was ignited, even the aims of those who had originally made those decisions would immediately have required modification.

In no less measure, the factors which lay behind the decision to shift India's capital were both many and complex. We may never be able to fathom them all. Yet, some of the reasoning, when condensed, gives us a few clues by which to interpret the decision. First, for the sake of structural balance and functional efficiency, proponents argued for a need to remove the seat of imperial government *from* Calcutta. Calcutta, it was thought, was no longer a suitable location for the imperial government. Conflicts between imperial government and local government were inescapable where the seats of both governments were located in such close proximity. Proper and balanced impartiality in the treatment of local governments throughout the subcontinent was so important 'that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government.' In the long run, 'the only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all.'[92] This would mean that the imperial government should be removed from the dangers of excessive influence from local opinion from any one quarter or from any one province. However, while the virtues of Delhi were extolled as ideal because of its historic associations with imperial rule (Mughal and pre-Mughal), its more central location, and its closer proximity to the hot-season capital of Simla, potential problems of local influence or partiality were strangely ignored.

Second, and perhaps as immediately political, was a concern about public opinion in Bengal. While Bengali opinion may well have carried undue influence, such influence was inherently and inextricably linked to the existing order of things and to the prevailing

regime. For the British and for their Raj, there could be no such easy escape from the dangerous tides of opinion in Bengal. What was wanted was some remedy for Bengali (*Bhadralok*) ill-will. This was easier said than done. Extreme (Hindu) opposition to the partition had aroused Muslim opinion and provoked formation of the All-India Muslim League (Dacca and Simla, 1906). Revocation of the partition and incorporation of all Bengali-speaking areas into a truncated Presidency of Bengal, ruled by its own Governor-in-Council, would not necessarily put an end to ill-feeling. Nor would an approximate equality between the number of Muslims and non-Muslims necessarily serve to alleviate growing communal antagonism. Thus, whether from Muslims, from non-Muslims ('Hindu' gentry), from Europeans resident in Bengal, or from any combination of these communities, the amount of public opinion and political excitement which could be aroused was enough to daunt any government. The decision to move the capital of India away from Calcutta only served to aggravate local opinion.[93]

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ARCHITECTURE AND EMPIRE
Sir Herbert Baker and the Building of New Delhi

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For years it has been a commonplace among historians that the British, in building their new capital at Delhi, sought to cast it in a Mughal mould. In much the same way as the great durbars and the awards of Indian titles were designed to symbolize Britain's position at the head of an ongoing Indian political order, so too, it has been argued, did the British by putting up buildings which embodied the essence of the north Indian tradition of imperial architecture, seek to capture for themselves the authority, unquestioned and legitimate, of their Mughal predecessors. The use of red sandstone as a building material, and the decorative scheme of turrets, pierced stone screens, *chattris* and porticoes, as well as the placement of the new city adjacent to the old Mughal capital of Shahjahanabad, have all been taken as evidence of the British endeavour to create for themselves an imperial capital in the Mughal grand manner.

Yet the British were of course not Mughals, and the new city could no more be mistaken for a Mughal capital than Lord Lytton's Imperial Assemblage for one of Shahjahan. The new Delhi was not, however, built simply to provide housing and office space for bureaucrats. From the outset it was charged with symbolic meaning, and the two architects, Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker, who laid out the city put up its principal structures with a carefully thought-out set of objectives in view. Lutyens, as the chief designer and architect, has won much deserved fame for his work in Delhi. Baker by contrast has been often disparaged. Yet the buildings Baker designed are central to any understanding of the architecture of imperial Delhi. By extension they may tell us something about the character and purposes of the British empire itself.

One must start, as Baker did, not in India at all but in South Africa, for underlying the design of the buildings of the new Indian capital lay a set of principles about imperial architecture worked out in South Africa around the turn of the century, and above all during the decade of reconstruction that followed the Boer War. Apart perhaps from conceiving of its buildings as Mughal-inspired monuments, perhaps the greatest fallacy of most studies of Delhi, as of India in general, is to view the subcontinent in isolation, as though India existed by itself or in relation only with London. The Indian Empire was part of a larger British Empire. The buildings of New Delhi, like much else in India, testify to the continuous flow of men and ideas among the various lands of that far-flung imperial system.

An Englishman, born in 1862, Baker went to South Africa at the age of thirty after completing his architectural apprenticeship in London. Unformed and inexperienced, he had decided to seek his fortune overseas. In South Africa he had the good fortune of a well-placed cousin: the admiral commanding the British naval base at Simonstown. Through him Baker was introduced to Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. This encounter gave the young architect not only a patron, for Rhodes at once set Baker to work building houses, but a set of ideals. Above all, from his association with Rhodes Baker came to appreciate the greatness of the British Empire as a force for civilization in the world.[1] In 1900 Rhodes sent Baker on a tour of the classical sites of the Mediterranean. Rhodes' objectives were wholly political: a part of the grand scheme for a federated South Africa he saw emerging from the Boer War, and of which he regarded himself as the presiding spirit. As Pericles, so Baker wrote, believed that art could teach 'the lazy Athenians to believe in Empire', so too, for Rhodes, did classical architecture give visible expression to imperialism, and draw men to it.[2]

Rhodes died before any of these ideals could be realized—indeed he had long since been politically discredited—but Baker's four months in the Mediterranean transformed his architectural vision. Fittingly, one of the first structures to reveal his new orientation was a memorial to Rhodes himself. Spread across the rugged slopes of Table Mountain, Cape Town, to which he and Rhodes shared a romantic attachment, the memorial sought to recreate an isolated Greek temple, that of Segesta on the coast of Sicily. Four stepped platforms, flanked by eight sphinx-like lions, lead up to the temple which contains in the central niche of the back wall a large head of Rhodes.

In 1902, as the Boer War came to an end, Baker moved to Johannesburg. The incentive was an invitation from Sir Alfred Milner, the British governor of the newly conquered Transvaal colony, 'to go up there to aid in introducing a better and more permanent order of architecture.' In Milner Baker found a new patron; in the reconstruction of the Transvaal a new imperial cause.[3] Baker at once fell in with the group of young and energetic men dedicated to the Empire whom Milner had called to South Africa, and who were dubbed Milner's 'kindergarten'.

The work of the kindergarten was of fundamental importance in shaping the South Africa of the twentieth century. Despite the early award of self-government, and the subsequent return to power of the Boers (or Afrikaners), Milner's band of civil servants during their decade at the helm laid down an enduring structure for the South Africa that was to follow: in its governance, its economy, and the ordering of its social relations.[4] As architect Baker complemented in stone the work of his friends on paper and at their desks. At first, he built houses, some three hundred in the Transvaal. But he soon moved on to government building. The first structure to embody the classical ideals Baker had brought back from his 1900 tour was the Pretoria railway station, built in 1908.[5] But this was little more than a preparatory essay for the great enterprise that was to follow two years later, the Union Buildings. Till then a small sleepy town, Pretoria was in 1910 designated the administrative capital of the new self-governing Union of South Africa. Of necessity the city had rapidly to be outfitted with suitable government office space. Impressed with Baker's work on the Pretoria station, the two Boer generals, Jan Smuts and Louis Botha, leaders of the incoming government, dispensed with the usual competition and awarded the commission on the spot to the now experienced English architect.[6]

Baker determined to give the new structure an appropriate 'nobility' both of site and of style. He envisaged above all a building set upon an acropolis like that of Athens, or the Greek temples of Sicily which had so fascinated him on his study tour. Hence he rejected as unworthy the block of flat land the government had already purchased in the centre of the city. Instead he explored the surrounding hills, and finally settled upon a narrow broken shelf halfway up a hill about a mile from the centre of town. Far from being a disadvantage, the steepness of the hillside was for Baker an attraction of the site. It gave him an opportunity, as with the Rhodes Memorial at Cape Town, to

elaborate terraces with gardens and statuary at different levels, and as well of course to draw the eye ever upward. The two identical blocks on the hillside, with their twin towers, symbolized the 'two races' of South Africa—not, of course, the black and the white, but the Dutch and the English—while the central amphitheatre, which Baker envisaged as a gathering place where the crowds in Greek fashion might listen to their leaders, brought together the races: it was indeed the union of South Africa.[7]

Each of the office blocks, inspired by the symmetries of Renaissance classicism, focuses upon two arcaded inner courtyards, while the semi-circular connecting building is fronted with a monumental colonnade. The projecting porticoes and balconies at the four corners not only relieved the tedium of the long horizontal facades, but served, as Baker saw it, a further special purpose. Inspired by Rhodes' habit of taking his guests out on his porch to look at Table Mountain, these columned loggias were meant to draw the ministers out of their offices so that they might 'lift their eyes up to the surrounding hills and the . . . splendours of the high veld, from which they may gather inspiration and visions of greatness."[8]

In 1912, in response to an invitation from Edwin Lutyens, Baker left South Africa for India to join in the building of New Delhi. Despite the triumph of the Union Buildings, Baker had grown increasingly discontented with his prospects in South Africa. By 1912 all but two of his kindergarten friends had left. The imperial era in South Africa had come to an end.

India brought the prospect, on a scale undreamt of in South Africa, of an elaboration of imperial architecture; also the excitement of collaboration with Lutyens, the most original and creative British architect of the age. It also brought frustration, tension, and the rupture of a friendship with Lutyens formed when both were apprentice architects in London thirty years before. According to the terms of their agreement Lutyens took responsibility for the overall layout of New Delhi, and the design of the Viceroy's House; while Baker was to take charge of the Secretariat blocks. By the time Baker arrived, in February 1913, a number of decisions had already been made: that the new city was to be built south rather than north of the old, that the focus of the plan was to be the Viceroy's House on its citadel at Raisina Hill, and that a wholly Indian style of architecture was inappropriate to a British imperial capital. With much of this Baker was in agreement. Above all he was drawn to the idea of an

acropolis capital, which accorded so well with his own Greek sentiments. Baker insisted however upon one alteration, that the secretariats be moved up onto the acropolis with the Viceroy's House. The whole, as he conceived it, should form 'one high platform expressing the importance of the unity of the Viceroy with his government.'[9]

Furthermore, Baker, Lutyens, and the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, all agreed that the new Delhi, a city which made manifest Britain's imperial position in India, demanded an imperial architecture. But just what such an architecture ought to consist of was by no means obvious. Hardinge urged the use at least in part of an 'Eastern' style, preferrably that of Indo-Saracenic with its historic associations with Delhi and its neighbourhood. Hence he insisted that the architects tour old Muslim forts and cities, Jaipur, Agra, even remote Mandu; he imposed upon them a special adviser on Indian art, Sir Swinton Jacob; and he pressed them to incorporate the pointed Mughal arch in their designs. These views reflected of course Hardinge's anxiety above all to make the new capital acceptable to Britain's Indian subjects, and he conceived that a familiar imperial architecture would best serve that purpose.[10]

On the opposite side, that of an uncompromising adherence to European classicism, stood Lutyens. A youthful builder of romantic English country homes, Lutyens slowly turned to classical models as he matured, and sought a style more appropriate to large-scale public building. As he wrote enthusiastically to Baker in 1903, 'in architecture Palladio is the game!! It is so big—few appreciate it now. . . . To the average man it is dry bones, but under the hands of a Wren it glows and the stiff materials become as plastic clay.' As Lutyens saw it, the line of descent in architecture was straight and clear: from 'the Greeks, who handed the torch to the Romans, they to the great Italians and on to the Frenchmen and to Wren, who made it sane for England.'[11] Overseas, in countries without a great architectural tradition of their own, it was even more essential to adhere strictly to the canons of classical style. 'Would Wren,' he wrote sarcastically, 'had he gone to Australia, have burnt his knowledge and experience to produce a marsupial style? . . . You cannot play originality with the Orders. . . . [Their] perfection is far nearer nature than anything produced on impulse or accident-wise.'[12] For Indian architecture Lutyens had nothing but contempt. 'Personally I do not believe there is *any* real Indian architecture or any great tradition. There are just spurts by various mushroom dynasties with as much intellect as there

is in any other *art nouveau*.' Indian buildings, even the Taj Mahal, were picturesque and decorative, but pervaded by a 'childish ignorance' of the basic principles of architecture. 'There is no trace,' he sighed, 'of any Wren.'[13]

For Herbert Baker an imperial architecture had to be 'not Indian, nor English, nor Roman,' but simply imperial.[14] This meant, as he expressed it in a letter to *The Times* of 3 October 1912, that at its heart must be a political objective: that of capturing in stone the spirit of the British Indian Empire. 'The new capital,' he wrote, 'must be the sculptural monument of the good government and unity which India, for the first time in its history, has enjoyed under British rule. British rule in India is not a mere veneer of government and culture. It is a new civilization in growth, a blend of the best elements of East and West. . . . It is to this great fact that the architecture of Delhi should bear testimony.' Hence the new city had to embody in its style of building a synthesis.[15]

What were the elements of the synthesis? With Lutyens, Baker repudiated the Indo-Saracenic as inappropriate to British imperial building. But his objection was not so much aesthetic as political. The Indic style, he argued, simply does not have 'the constructive and geometrical qualities necessary to embody the idea of law and order which has been produced out of chaos by the British Administration.' Classical architecture by contrast, above all the buildings of Wren, had 'eminently the qualities of law, order, and government'. European classicism, then, was to be given pride of place in the new Delhi as it had been in Pretoria: not, however, because of its aesthetic perfection, but because of its political expressiveness.

Yet this was not all. There remained, to complete the synthesis, considerations of climate and of decoration. From his earliest days in South Africa Baker had urged that European buildings in southern lands had to be adapted to the needs of the tropical climate. Hence his work in South Africa and his plans for Delhi incorporated such features as spacious colonnades, open verandahs, overhanging eaves or cornices, and small high window openings. These structural devices increased the circulation of air while reducing the amount of sunlight within buildings, and brought the outdoors close at hand. Apart from the classically-inspired colonnade, all these features were standard elements of indigenous architecture. The *stoep*, or open verandah, was found everywhere in Cape Dutch building, while the *chajja*, or wide-projecting shade-giving stone cornice, and *jaalis*, or

pierced stone lattice screen to admit air but not sunshine, are central features of Mughal architecture. By incorporating such elements into his design Baker could simultaneously adapt his Delhi buildings to the extreme climate and enhance their Indic appearance. Perhaps the only Indian element adopted purely for its effect was the *chattri*, or freestanding pavilion with a wide *chajja*, which mounts the roof line of the secretariat buildings. These little structures did have an aesthetic purpose to serve—that of breaking the long horizontal lines of the flat roofs—but they contribute a great deal to 'Indianizing' these imposing administrative blocks.

As construction proceeded Baker and Lutyens found sufficient common ground to create a harmonious set of buildings on top of Raisina Hill. Lutyens' Viceroy's House, for instance, incorporated several Indian elements. The strong horizontal lines of the building for instance are reinforced by a cornice with a *chajja* casting a ten-foot shadow, while the roof line is punctuated by sunken *chattris*, and the entrance gateway is even marked by a sculptured elephant. Indeed, as Wren had made classicism 'sane' for England, Lutyens conceived of his role as making it 'sane' for India. This meant a return to the 'essence' of classical form, and its subsequent reconstitution. The Viceroy's House was the outcome: plain, austere, massive, with its Indian detail transformed by the imaginative genius of the architect. Baker's secretariats by contrast show a more direct grafting of Indian motifs onto the classical surfaces. In large part this reflects Baker's political concerns: that the secretariat buildings, so visible on their high pediments, and so much more open to the comings and goings of Indians, should be seen to be distinctly Indian.[16]

Despite the similarity of their buildings the two architects had by no means resolved their differences. Indeed their collaboration was to end in bitterness and rancour before the building of Delhi was complete. The ostensible cause of the rupture was a disagreement over the angle of the inclined roadway which led up the hill between the two secretariats to the Viceroy's House. The problem had its origins in the decision, taken, as we have seen, largely at Baker's initiative, to place the secretariat buildings, as well as the Viceroy's House, on top of Raisina Hill. Baker's objectives were praiseworthy—'to give architectural expression to a common dignity and distinction in the instrument of government as a united whole'—but the result was to spoil the vista of the Viceroy's House from the roadway. Lutyens had intended the viceregal mansion, as the axial

point of the scheme, to be visible from the entire length of the ceremonial Raj Path. But placed far back on the hill behind the secretariats, the Viceroy's House was for a time lost from view as the roadway climbed steeply up the hill. For Baker this was a matter of no great moment. Lutyens, however, pressed doggedly to have the vista restored by the excavation of a deep trench cut into the hillside past the secretariats, so that the road could ascend at a lesser gradient. When refused he broke angrily with Baker, whom he accused of deceiving him in drawing up the design plans for the hill.[17]

Lutyens' sensitivity seems altogether disproportionate to the issues involved, the more so as he sought to have the gradient altered at great expense with the construction of the city already two years underway. Yet the controversy goes to the heart of the differing conceptions that Baker and Lutyens brought to the building of New Delhi. For Baker, schooled as he was under Rhodes and Milner, architecture served always a political purpose. His placement of the secretariats on the hilltop, the use of Indian decorative features—indeed his commitment to European classicism itself—all testify to his one overriding objective, that of creating an architecture expressive of the ideals of the British Empire. For Lutyens the empire was incidental. He was not untouched by its spirit. He was impressed by the Indian Civil Service, and the 'unselfishness' of British rule; and he was convinced that the Indians had but 'low intellects' that 'spoil' easily.[18] But his professional interests lay elsewhere. In Delhi, while working within the context of an imperial architecture, he sought nevertheless to realize the universal truths he saw embodied in the European classical tradition. Fired by this aesthetic vision he could tolerate no interference with its implementation. The Viceroy's House, as the axial point of an ordered symmetry, must remain always visible.

Imperial architecture, then, shaped by its colonial setting, must be regarded as a distinct style of building. Such an architecture did not involve the simple transplantation of European modes to foreign lands. Nor was it the same as the endeavour to realize, with Lutyens or later le Corbusier, an abstract universal vision. Much less of course did it involve the copying of 'native' styles. No doubt in large part because of his early tutelage under Rhodes and Milner, Baker recognized always that an architecture meant to symbolize empire made unusual demands upon the builder. Central to these demands was the necessity of appealing simultaneously on different levels to a variety of different audiences.

In South Africa certainly the audience was the resident white population. Dutch and English alike, they could comprehend the symbolic references of the Union Buildings, and be drawn by them toward a larger South African nationality. Indeed Baker explicitly conceived of his work in Pretoria, in words taken from Wren, as that which 'establishes a Nation . . . [and] makes the people love their native country.'[19] In New Delhi the intended audience was more diffuse. Certainly much that was done was meant to impress the Indian with the special greatness of Britain's empire. The juxtaposition of the old city and the new, the alignment of the principal avenues with the Purana Qila and the Jama Masjid, the decorative scheme of turrets, pierced screens, and *chattris* in red sandstone, all were devices meant to capture for this empire the authority, legitimate and unquestioned, with which Indians invested its predecessors. From the porticoes of the secretariat ministers could look out, so Baker wrote, across 'the far ruinous sites' of India's historic capitals, and then look down 'to the new Capital beneath them that unites for the first time through the centuries all races and religions of India.'[20] The buildings of New Delhi, then, were meant to connect Britain's rule with India's own imperial past, and at the same time to evoke a sense of pride in the unique accomplishments of the British Raj.

For this reason much of the architectural symbolism of New Delhi had meaning primarily for the British themselves. Baker wrote of the secretariat blocks that on their great podium they 'seem the guardians of the Processional Way up to the Acropolis, and may suggest the attributes of majesty which distinguished the rock platforms and stairway at Persepolis.'[21] The likelihood of many Indians appreciating such symbolism was negligible.

The British chose a classical style for their new capital, in some measure, simply because that was the medium through which Europeans apprehended empire. Its 'eternal principles' and 'ordered beauty', more than those of any other architecture, were those fit to embody in stone the spirit of empire. But more surely was involved. Above all, it would seem the British sought by connecting their monuments to the ideals, and empires, of a cherished classical antiquity, to enhance the moral worth—in their own eyes—of their political handiwork. For this reason imperial architecture was not tied to any particular geographic setting. Its elements could be reordered to fit any tropical dependency. What had been hammered out in Pretoria, and refined in Delhi, could be carried to such places as Kenya, where the Government House, Nairobi, built by Baker in

1925, was but a minor variant of the design worked out before. The empire remained always a special place; and its buildings served always a special purpose. It was none other than to make manifest—to ruler and ruled alike—that, as Baker wrote, echoing Curzon, 'Our work is righteous and it shall endure.'

NOTES

1. Herbert Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect* (London, 1934), p. 175.
2. Baker, *Cecil Rhodes*, p. 10–15, 54–5; Doreen E. Grieg, *Herbert Baker in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1970), pp. 100–5.
3. Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), pp. 47–8; Grieg, *Baker in South Africa*, pp. 115–16.
4. See, for instance, D. J. N. Denoon, *The Grand Illusion: Reconstruction 1900–1905* (London, 1973); A. H. Jeeves, 'Control of Migratory Labour in the South African Gold Mines in the Era of Kruger and Milner', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2 (1975), pp. 3–29.
5. For a full discussion see Grieg, *Baker in South Africa*, Ch. 10.
6. Ibid., p. 174.
7. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 59–60.
8. Ibid., p. 60.
9. For the early discussions on the site and layout, see Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1953), p. 245–76, 286–9; and Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 64–7.
10. For Hardinge's views, see Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 252, 274, passim; Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 70–2. He ultimately gave way to his architects on most disputed points of design.
11. Hussey, *Lutyens*, p. 280.
12. Ibid., pp. 134, 208–09.
13. Ibid., pp. 277–9.
14. Ibid., p. 247.
15. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 219–22.
16. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 280, 297–300; A. S. G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. II (London, 1950); Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh* (London, 1975), pp. 65–6.
17. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 66–7; Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 323–4, 351–8.
18. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 248, 255–6.
19. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 58.
20. Ibid., pp. 68–9.
21. Ibid., p. 69.

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF DELHI UNIVERSITY

APARNA BASU

The idea of a University at Delhi was first proposed around 1911–12, when it was decided to transfer the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. But it took a decade for the idea to materialize. At this time Delhi had two colleges, St Stephen's (founded by the Cambridge Mission in 1882)[1] and Hindu College (which was started in 1899).[2] Both the colleges were the result of private effort but received grants-in-aid from the government. The initial proposal had been to establish a government college, as Henry Sharp, the Education Secretary,[3] felt that educational activity in the capital was likely to increase. At the same time, he held that neither St Stephen's nor Hindu was a secure institution, particularly the latter, which he described as 'moribund'. Hence the need for a government college, which might ultimately lead to a small university.[4] Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Member of the Governor-General's Council, agreed with this proposal and wanted about 200 acres to be reserved in the new capital for a university consisting of two colleges, a university building, an oriental research institute and a few schools.[5] The Imperial Delhi Committee considered the proposal for allotting a site to the university in the new capital. This whole scheme, however, was shelved on the outbreak of war in 1914.

In September 1918, as the First World War was drawing to a close, Sharp once again revived the scheme of a government college.[6] Sir Shankaran Nair, then the Education Member,[7] asked Sir Harcourt Butler, now Lieutenant Governor of U.P.,[8] if affairs at Aligarh, which was then being rocked by Pan Islamism, did not furnish an additional reason for starting a government college at Delhi. Should the government make 'a start at once, or more leisurely?'[9] Butler reiterated his earlier view in favour of such a college,[10] and a committee consisting of Sharp, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi (Barron),[11]

the Chief Engineer (Keeling),[12] and the Principal of St Stephen's (Rudra),[13] was formed to draw up detailed plans for the college.

In the meantime the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, set up under the Chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, was published.[14] The Sadler Report recommended that Calcutta University as well as other Indian universities, which were affiliating and examining bodies modelled on London University, should be reorganized, and decentralized. Indian universities should be of a unitary, teaching and residential type. Following this recommendation, the Universities of Panjab and Allahabad commenced to re-shape their constitutions. As the Delhi colleges were affiliated to the University of Panjab, the Government of India felt that an independent university should be provided for the students of the capital city.

Colleges in Delhi were understandably not enthusiastic about a new government college. The Education Department's idea was to amalgamate Hindu College with the government college and convert the former into a hostel. Hindu College naturally resented this and wanted a site for itself in the new capital.[15] So did Ramjas College, which had been founded in 1917.[16] A fourth college, Lady Hardinge Medical College, had been established in 1916, affiliated to Panjab University. St Stephen's also feared competition from a government college.[17]

Faced with this opposition from the colleges, and in view of the Calcutta University Commission's Report, the Education Department abandoned the idea of a government college and instead pleaded for the establishment of a unitary teaching university. The arguments put forward for this were numerous and quite persuasive.

Sir Muhammad Shafi, the new Education Member,[18] urged that it was 'the clear duty of the Government of India to take early steps to carry out those reforms in the one province which is pre-eminently the direct concern of this Government and to expedite the establishment of a unitary and teaching University in the Imperial capital.' He argued that from the educational point of view, Delhi occupied a somewhat unique position. For centuries, during the period of Muslim rule, it had been the intellectual centre of India. It had now been restored to its position as the Imperial capital of the Indian Empire. Between Allahabad and Lahore, there was no government university. Delhi was at least as big a town and a larger educational centre than either Dacca or Lucknow, both of which had already got

universities. Being a large trade centre, a faculty of commerce would be of immense benefit to the people of this part of the country. Shafi felt that with the establishment of a unitary university at Delhi, parents residing in neighbouring districts, anxious to give university education to their children, would prefer to send them to Delhi rather than to Lahore or Allahabad. The existing educational institutions in Delhi formed a sufficient nucleus for the establishment of a university. He held that the establishment of such a university at Delhi would make the task of Panjab and Allahabad for university reforms easier. The affiliation of Delhi colleges to Panjab University complicated the latter's effort towards reform. Delhi being a small province, it was an ideal place for carrying out the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission. The separation of secondary and intermediate from university education presented considerable difficulties in Bengal and the other Presidencies but no such difficulties existed in Delhi, and the task of the government would be easy. It seemed to the Education Member that in these circumstances it was the plain duty of the government to set up a unitary, teaching and residential university at Delhi; to separate secondary and intermediate from university education and to institute a Secondary Education Board on the lines recommended by the Calcutta University Commission as models for other provinces of India. He urged the Government of India to introduce reforms in the one province which was directly under its control and thus 'give proof of its earnestness in accomplishing the goal set up by the most authoritive Education Commission which had ever sat in India.' Since the Commission had been appointed by the government, it was the latter's duty to show to the country its readiness to discharge the obligation which 'we owe to ourselves as well as to the Indian peoples in relation to University education.' The establishment of a university at Delhi would constitute a conclusive answer to the charge made by the Registrar of Calcutta University of the 'alleged hostility' of the Government of India to the spread of higher education.

Shafi was of the view that, for political reasons also, any further delay in establishing a university would be 'impolitic and might prove dangerous.' It seemed to him essential that they should forestall the non-cooperators who were contemplating a national university in Delhi. The foundation of a government university was sure to kill their scheme. It would show that while the non-cooperators merely indulged in vague talk of establishing national universities, the

government was earnest in its desire to supply Indian educational needs. Moreover, it would meet the criticism that the government while spending on the army and defence was starving education.[19]

In December 1919, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi presided over a meeting at which representatives of the Education Department as well as of the three colleges and the Chief Engineer were present. After prolonged discussion, the meeting unanimously resolved that a unitary teaching university should be established in Delhi.[20]

The government scheme regarding Delhi University consisted of two parts—the provisional and the permanent. The former was that the existing colleges with their hostels would remain in their present quarters in the city. Ramjas would become an Intermediate College, while Stephen's and Hindu would, as far as possible and desirable, have common classes for graduate teaching and some more professors would be appointed for special tutoring in honours and postgraduate work. The immediate cost would be 75,000 rupees.

The permanent scheme envisaged that the colleges would ultimately become intermediate colleges; that the college authorities would build hostels or halls on the Raisina site in which students would receive tutorial assistance, and that government would build university buildings, laboratories, lecture halls, etc., and pay for the central teaching. The estimated capital cost was around 34 lakh rupees (recurring), and 2 lakh rupees non-recurring initially, with this rising to 4 lakh rupees. Some 30,000 rupees from fees would be an offset.[21]

The main hurdle was lack of funds. Apart from this, the Education Department was afraid of the attitudes of the other departments of the Government of India, of the Panjab University, of the public, of the local colleges, and of the legislature; it was also worried over the lack of local patriotism and interest in education in Delhi. Despite this the Education Member and his officials were of the view that the government should go ahead with the university scheme since Delhi did not possess a single government college; moreover, a unitary, teaching university on a modest scale was no more expensive than a college. Besides, in St Stephen's College, Delhi possessed 'an efficient and loyal institution' which could form the nucleus of the new university.

The colleges which had at first welcomed the idea of a residential, unitary and teaching university, soon began to have second thoughts. They felt that a 'strict application of the unitary principle might sink

our individualities and traditions more than as institutions we are prepared to accept.' They wanted an assurance that they would be taken into confidence by the government. A meeting of the representatives of the three colleges unanimously decided that at least two-thirds of the controlling body of the university should be representatives of existing colleges. This body should, they felt, be given statutory powers to determine the date of move to a new site and the date for separation of intermediate classes from the university. Agreement of all three colleges would be necessary on these two questions.[22] The colleges felt that while separation of intermediate from B.A. classes was desirable, it was not practicable on financial and other grounds for some time, at any rate till the neighbouring universities had effected such separation.

The Education Department now busied itself drafting a Bill for the proposed university which was to be modelled on those of Dacca and Lucknow. Sharp suggested that the new university be called the Prince of Wales University and hoped that His Royal Highness would lay the foundation stone during his forthcoming visit to India. The Prince of Wales Committee considered the proposal and felt that the Prince of Wales should lay the foundation stone if it was decided that Delhi University would be constructed within a reasonable space of time. But the Education Department could give no assurance regarding this as the Finance Department was unable to guarantee money. The Education Member was, however, very keen that the Prince of Wales should lay the foundation stone.[23] Keeling prepared a scheme for the building and the Royal Visit Committee provided 20,000 rupees for the foundation-stone–laying ceremony. Another 10,000 rupees was required to begin the building of Delhi University which was estimated to cost 30 lakh rupees.

But the Finance Member was against any foundation-stone–laying ceremony until the plans were finalized. The University, he said, 'may never come into being.' The Education Member, on the other hand, argued that the university was 'bound to come into existence as it was difficult to conceive of an Imperial Capital without a University.' He saw nothing incongruous or ridiculous in asking the Prince of Wales to lay the foundation stone. Hailey,[24] however, firmly opposed the proposal and it was finally dropped. A suggestion was then put forward that the Viceroy should lay the foundation stone. But Hailey was against this also. He argued that because of financial reasons there was no chance of the university being shifted to New Delhi. If

the Viceroy laid the foundation stone, this could be quoted as an argument that he ought to provide the funds. The foundation-stone-laying ceremony was therefore postponed.

All the non-Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council poured cold water on the proposal for a university in Delhi. Sir William Vincent,[25] the Home Member, was of the view that the scheme was 'premature' and that they were embarking unnecessarily on additional expenditure at a time of great financial stringency. He suggested that they should wait until a proper teaching and residential university could be constituted. He was doubtful if it was at all 'wise or necessary' to start a purely examining university.[26]

The Finance Member, who had from the start been sceptical, said that he had reluctantly agreed to include 75,000 rupees in the next year's budget because he was told that efforts were being made by extremists to start a national university in Delhi and it was necessary to anticipate them. Further, that the reorganization contemplated by Panjab University could exclude Delhi colleges from university facilities. He shared Vincent's doubts that they were perhaps being 'unduly hasty in this matter'. He did not want legislation if it would commit them to any major scheme at an early date. 'We have in India,' he wrote, 'too many universities which are unable to finance themselves or get financed.' Hailey further opposed communal representation in the Court and Executive Council which had been proposed in the draft scheme. He regarded it as a 'retrogade step' for which there was 'no possible justification'. The Muhammadans had a university at Aligarh which was next door; they constituted half the population of Delhi, 'and as for their being backward . . . it is notorious that at present they are in the forefront of every political agitation and disturbance in the town.' According to Hailey there was no excuse at all for giving them special protection. 'I would much rather secure it to Christians, who really have done something for collegiate education in Delhi.'[27]

C. A. Innes[28] was also against the scheme and thought it wiser to postpone it. He doubted whether the argument that a government university would hinder extremists from starting a national university needed to be taken seriously. On the contrary, extremists might be tempted to challenge 'a pinchbeck university' by starting a better one of their own.[29]

The two Indian members of the Council were, however, enthusiastic. B. N. Sharma,[30] Member for Revenue and Agriculture, wanted

an engineering faculty and urged government to go ahead by introducing a bill in the legislature. He was, however, like Hailey against communal representation.[31]

Tej Bahadur Sapru[32] wanted Delhi University to be different and not based on the Dacca model. He wanted it to lay stress on scientific and commercial subjects since he saw no use in multiplying graduates in arts and law. He was also wholly opposed to communal representation. Sapru felt that the financial estimates were too low and the university was possible only if at least 75,000 rupees per year were sanctioned; it was no use starting 'a big ideal without big funds'.[33]

The Education Member, Shafi, was deeply disappointed with the attitude of his European colleagues whose ready and active support he had expected. He tried to reply to the objections raised by each of them. The political danger of not starting a university, he said, was real. Muhammad Ali[34] intended to shift his national university from Aligarh to Delhi and it was 'in the highest degree desirable to forestall the non-cooperators and to take the wind out of their sails.' The presence of such a national university in the heart of the Imperial capital was fraught with 'serious mischief'. His experience of the national education movement was that in almost every case where a 'National' school had been started in a place already possessing a government or aided school, the former had to be closed down or lingered on in a pitiable condition.

Shafi did not agree with Hailey that there were too many universities in India. In British India there were only eleven universities, two of which were the result of private effort, catering to a population of 250 million. In Britain there were eighteen universities for a population of fifty million, in France sixteen for forty million, in Germany twenty-three for sixty-one million and in Japan sixteen universities for fifty-five million. The Panjab University catered to Panjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces and Delhi, i.e., a population of thirty million. The need for more universities had been stressed by the public in the press and in the legislative councils. The Government of India under dyarchy was relieved of financing provincial universities, but Delhi would be under the direct charge of the central government which should not be accused of starving education.[35]

Shafi, however, unlike Hailey, Sapru and Sharma argued for communal representation in the Court and Executive Council. He argued that Muslims were underrepresented in the senates of Calcutta and Panjab; in the former there were twelve, in the latter seventeen

Muslims (in both cases out of 100), though they constituted more than fifty percent of the population in each.[36]

Lord Reading's Council discussed the question and ordered that the scheme be placed before the standing Finance Committee. The latter having passed the demand for 75,000 rupees per year on 10 January 1922, the next step was to introduce a bill in the Legislative Assembly.

The Delhi University Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Assembly on 16 January 1922 by the Education Secretary, Sharp.[37] Its object was the establishment of a unitary teaching and residential university at Delhi. Delhi was considered a suitable centre since it was the winter capital of the Government of India and already contained three arts colleges and the Lady Hardinge Medical College. The Delhi colleges were likely to be disaffiliated by the Panjab University with its proposed reorganization.

Delhi University was to be under the control of the Government of India and the Governor-General was to be the Chancellor. A Vice-Chancellor was to be appointed by the Chancellor. The general bodies would be a Court, an Executive Council and an Academic Council with Faculties. The provisions of the Bill generally followed those contained in the Dacca University Act,[38] though on certain points the provisions of the Lucknow University Act[39] were preferred.

The existing colleges were to retain their names and the power of appointing their staff. But the university was given the power of recognizing members of the staff of a college as university teachers. University work was to commence in the existing colleges who were to be permitted to gradually modify their organization, especially with reference to separation of intermediate classes in such a manner as to allow the development of the university in its eventual form. In order that this might be done without undue dislocation in the colleges, the transitory provisions were particularly wide and permitted considerable divergence in the initial years from the form of the university as eventually contemplated. Sharp assured the House that the existing colleges would not be dislocated and the process of change would be a gradual one. The university was to begin 'with its gears in first speed.'[40]

In the course of the discussion of the Bill in the Legislative Assembly, assurances were demanded by members on behalf of the colleges that the term 'unitary' should be interpreted liberally and that colleges should be associated directly with university teaching.

Hari Singh Gour,[41] T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar,[42] J. P. Cotelingam[43] and others expressed the anxiety of the colleges regarding the preservation and continuity of their own identity. Members wanted an assurance that the existing colleges would not be destroyed by the university.[44]

The Indian members in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State also wanted greater representation for the non-official, elected element at every level and less government control.[45]

The only note of discord regarding the principles of the Bill was raised by N. M. Joshi,[46] who felt that education should be spread as widely as possible and that unitary residential universities might restrict this. Higher education should be spread 'among the whole mass of working classes, as well as those who had not the benefit of getting university education during their boyhood.'[47]

Sharp in his reply assured the House that during the transitional phase colleges would continue in their present buildings and intermediate classes would not be separated from degree classes: 'For the moment, there is no intention whatever of destroying the identities of these colleges, nor has there ever been.'[48]

The Bill was referred to a Joint Select Committee consisting of seven members from the Council of States—Raja Harnam Singh, A. I. Mayhew, Ganganath Jha,[49] Zulfikar Ali Khan, Bhugri, and Lalubhai Samaldas[50] with Muhammad Shafi as Chairman. Bhugri moved an amendment proposing the name of V. G. Kale[51] instead of himself and this was accepted.[52] The members of the Legislative Assembly on the Committee were Hari Singh Gour, D. P. Sarbadhikari,[53] Abul Qasim, J. P. Cotelingam and Henry Sharp.

The Report of the Joint Select Committee was presented to the Imperial Legislative Assembly on 13 February 1922 and to the Council of State a week later.

Minutes of Dissent to the Report were written by four members. Adul Kasem wanted a provision to be made in the statute to the effect that one-third of the members elected by different electorates should be Muslims. V. G. Kale, D. P. Sarbadhikari and Lalubhai Samaldas all expressed concern at the autocratic powers which the Bill had conferred on the Chancellor. They all pleaded for greater university autonomy.

When the Report of the Committee was taken up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur supported Abul Qasim's plea for separate representation for Muslims in the Court and Executive Council. He argued that since half the

population of Delhi was Muhammadan, they ought to be sufficiently represented in all the governing bodies of the university. Sarbadhikari objected to the distinction made between University-appointed teachers and College teachers. Rai Bahadur C. G. Nag moved an amendment that the Vice-Chancellor should be an honorary officer as Delhi would not be able to afford a paid Vice-Chancellor. K. C. Neogy wanted no outside body, however exalted, to have any control regarding ordinances, regulations, etc., particularly no powers to the Governor-General-in-Council. The Indian members were against excessive official control and suspicious of the powers vested in the Governor-General-in-Council: there was a clause in the Bill (Clause 35 (4)) which laid down that 'the University shall not, save with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, recognize (for the purpose of admission to a course of study for a degree), as equivalent to its own degrees, any degree conferred by any other University.' Munshi Iswar Saran asked whether Oxford and Cambridge referred to the British Cabinet before they recognized the degrees of other universities, to which the Education Member's reply was that these universities were not financed by the British Government and therefore the latter had no voice in their affairs. The government's underlying fear was no doubt the recognition of diplomas, certificates and degrees of the national schools and colleges such as the Gujarat Vidyapith and the Kashi Vidyapith which had sprung up during the non-cooperation movement. Some of these institutions may have been sub-standard but a political motive was undoubtedly involved in investing the Governor-General with the power of recognition of degrees.

The Delhi University Bill, as amended, was passed on 22 February 1922 by the Legislative Assembly. In the Council of State, Lalubhai Samaldas, while welcoming the Bill feared that without funds the new university would 'not be a real University, but will be a conglomeration of the various existing colleges under the exaggerated name of a University.' He observed that it was no use introducing amendments as all amendments in the Legislative Assembly had been defeated and there was no possibility of their being passed in the Council of States where the official majority was even greater. The Indian non-official members were apprehensive that university autonomy was being taken away and in this they re-echoed the sentiments expressed by Gokhale nearly two decades earlier when Curzon's Universities Bill was being debated in the Legislature. The

Muslim members once again urged communal representation in university bodies and introduced an amendment to this effect. While all the five Muslim members voted in its favour, it was opposed by Dr Ganganath Jha, G. S. Khaparde[54] and other Indian and European members, on the ground that petty communal considerations should not be introduced into university affairs. As the government was also not in favour of this, the amendment was rejected. The Council of States finally passed the Bill on 28 February 1922. The Viceroy gave his assent to the Bill on 5 March 1922.[55]

After some discussion with the principals of the colleges, the Governor-General-in-Council directed that the Act should come into force on 1 May 1922 and a notification to this effect was issued on 6 April 1922.[56] On the same day a notification was also issued regarding the appointment of Hari Singh Gour, a distinguished barrister-at-law from Nagpur, as the first Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University.[57]

The principal administrative authorities under the Act were: (a) The Court, which consisted of ex-officio members including the principal university officers, principals of colleges, professors and readers of the university, a certain number elected by 'Registered graduates', representatives of certain associations, the Council of States, the Legislative Assembly and the governing bodies of Delhi colleges and a certain number nominated by the Chancellor. The Court was primarily a legislative and supervisory body which was to meet twice a year. (b) The Executive Council was the chief executive body consisting of twenty-one members of whom seven were principals of colleges, five elected by the Court, three by the Academic Council and two nominated by the Chancellor. Ex-officio members were the Vice-Chancellor, Rector, Superintendent of Education of Delhi and Ajmer–Merwara and Deans of faculties. The Executive Council had complete control over financial matters and general control over academic administration. It discharged its functions with the help of various bodies such as the Finance Committee and the committee of selection. (c) The Academic Council consisted of thirty-five members including the Vice-Chancellor, the Rector, three Deans of faculties, seven principals of colleges, one professor, twenty-one readers, the librarian, three members who were not teachers nominated by the Chancellor, and three teachers co-opted by the Academic Council. The Academic Council controlled and regulated the standard of instruction and was responsible for instruction and examination within the university.

As is evident, college representatives predominated in both the Executive Council and the Academic Council. In the former twelve out of the twenty-one members were college teachers and in the latter thirty-five were teachers or those closely associated with the management of colleges.

The Governor-General as Chancellor appointed a provisional Executive Council of twenty-one.[58] This body met frequently in May and June 1922 and completed the temporary organization of the university. The Vice-Chancellor prepared a draft of the Delhi University Code which was laid before the provisional Executive Council and passed by it after some amendments. In June 1922 the Executive Council passed a resolution by which an Academic Council was brought into existence. Financial Committees were also created. G. M. U. Sufi, a member of the Provincial Education Service of C. P. and Berar was appointed Registrar; the Rev. F. J. Weston, Head of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, Rector; K. C. Roy, Treasurer; N. V. Thadani, Proctor; K. B. Pirzada Muhammad Hussain, Librarian; and the Rev. P. N. F. Young and Khub Ram of St Stephen's College were elected Deans of the Faculties of Arts and Science respectively.[59]

The university started functioning with two faculties, of arts and science; a law faculty was established two years later in 1924. In the science faculty there were two departments, those of physics and chemistry. The arts faculty included the departments of English, history, economics, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. There were three recognized colleges teaching up to the degree standard and four intermediate colleges.

The existence of the new university was, however, soon threatened. In September 1922, the Legislative Assembly pressed the government to appoint a Retrenchment Committee to overhaul its finances. The committee, under the chairmanship of Inchcape, recommended the reconsideration of the scheme for a university in Delhi. It argued that there was no lack of facilities for university education in north India and that existing financial considerations did not justify the formation of a new university.[60]

The Vice-Chancellor and other officials of the university issued two memoranda disagreeing with the Inchcape Committee Report. They said that there was 'a complete misapprehension on the part of the Committee regarding the University of Delhi.' The Committee seemed to think that the university was still to be formed. But in fact the university had already been formed and was actually functioning.

It possessed a Provisional Executive Council and an Honorary Vice-Chancellor. The necessary ordinances, regulations, rules and other measures had been framed and submitted to the Government of India for sanction, approval and information in accordance with the requirements of the Act.[61]

The three Arts Colleges had by now been disaffiliated from the University of Panjab and had become constituent colleges of the Delhi University. The Permanent Court had been elected by members of the Legislative Assembly and Council of States and by registered graduates. It had held its first meeting on 28 February 1923, over which the Law Member had presided. A group of 303 persons had registered themselves as graduates of the University of Delhi[62] and the university had realized a sum of over 7,000 rupees as fees from them. The university had also received some endowments. Indeed, by March 1923, the university had almost completed its permanent organization.

Both memoranda argued that the university could not now be scrapped. Students would be stranded. Colleges had increased their staffs and expenditures on laboratory and library facilities. This could not now be reduced. The university was, in any case, being run on unprecedentedly economic lines, being by far the most cheaply run university in the whole of India. Since the colleges were private institutions, expenditures on them were already at a minimum and could not be reduced any further.

Signatories of the memorandum included the Vice-Chancellor, H. S. Gour, the Rector, F. J. Weston and the principals of St Stephen's, Hindu and Ramjas College, F. F. Monk, N. V. Thadani and Kedar Nath respectively. This group claimed that the Inchcape Committee had never consulted the university. The Committee, they held, was composed of magnates who were wholly without university education, the sole exception being Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.[63] This memorandum asked for the support of the government and the legislatures, and hoped that these institutions would not allow Delhi University 'to be stabbed so soon after its birth and healthy and promising commencement.'[64]

The Education Department strongly favoured the continuance of the university. However, both the Home and Finance Department were against it.[65] For officials in these departments the question was whether it was necessary to go ahead with the university at all. Could not the Delhi University Act simply be suspended by issuing a

notification?[66] The Legislative Department was consulted; and it advised that the Act could not be put out of operation by a simple notification. The proper course would be for the Legislature to repeal the Act.[67]

The Viceroy ordered the question to be submitted to a vote of the Assembly on whether the government should support the continuation of the university. The Legislative Assembly again debated the whole matter; and on 19 March 1923, it unanimously approved continuance of the Delhi University and undertook to finance it out of the central revenue.[68] Thus, the university whose future had hung so precariously in the balance only a few months after its foundation, received a fresh impetus.

The first convocation of Delhi University was held in the Legislative Assembly Hall on 26 March 1923. The ceremony was preceded by a series of hectic meetings to complete all preliminary technicalities; and the office staff, it is said, were almost in a state of nervous breakdown. The principals of two of the colleges had to take leave to recuperate![69] An imposing ceremony was held as scheduled. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, resplendent in gorgeous official robes, were accompanied to the dais by members of the Executive Council. The floor of the Chamber was occupied by registered graduates and members of the Court, all arrayed in academic robes, as well as by distinguished visitors. Honorary degrees were conferred on the Chancellor, the Earl of Reading, on the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Sir Muhammad Shafi, and on the Vice-Chancellor, Dr H. S. Gour.

Lord Reading in his Convocation Address emphasized that the establishment of a university at the Imperial capital formed an integral portion of the scheme for the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. He thought that this was right and proper for it was impossible 'to conceive of this Imperial City of India without the necessary adornment and adjunct of a university. It would be difficult to imagine a Governor-General, a member in charge of the portfolio of education, and the Education Department of the Government of India, exercising their ultimate responsibility for the moral and intellectual progress of the vast population of India in complete isolation from any visible and practical expression of the highest influence for intellectual and moral culture.'[70] Delhi was surrounded by the history of kingdoms and empires. 'If environment has, indeed, its alleged influence, Delhi University should produce scholars for

around it are abundant signs of the cloisters where the feet of other scholars in other centuries have trod . . . In the vestiges of former kingdoms and empires we see at Delhi on all sides, there is priceless material for those who wish to learn of the past, of its art, its history, its literature and its civilization.'

The Vice-Chancellor in his address said that it was not merely an accident that at 'the new Delhi now to be the Imperial capital of a reformed and regenerated India, the centre and symbol of a regenerated nation rising and aspiring to self-expression and independence, a new university should be created which should serve as an inspiration to its new hopes and a signpost to its new born aspirations.'

The university was housed in rented buildings in different parts of the old city. Its administrative offices were successively housed on Underhill Road, in Curzon House on Alipore Road and in the Old Legislative Assembly Chamber and some adjacent rooms. There was a growing feeling that this transitional stage could not go on for ever and that some effort should be made for permanent accommodation for the university and its constituent colleges.

When the proposals for the layout of the educational buildings in the new capital had been under consideration back in 1915–16, the government had agreed to erect university buildings, including laboratories, lecture halls, libraries and other facilities on the Raisina site.[71] In the plans for New Delhi plots were allotted to the university. Sir Muhammad Shafi, speaking in the Council of States in January 1922, had said, 'The University will ultimately be located in the new city of Delhi, otherwise called Raisina.'[72]

In 1923, however, the New Capital Committee proposed that a portion of the Old Viceregal Lodge and Estate in Old Delhi, comprising an area of about 250 acres, be given to Delhi University instead. The Committee was convinced that establishment of the university in the new capital area was 'neither desirable nor necessary'.[73] The Committee also suggested that the Viceregal Lodge Site and buildings should be allotted to the university free of rent. The Finance Member, on the other hand, wanted these facilities leased to the university, for ten years in the first instance, at an economic rental.[74]

The possibility of allotting the Old Viceregal Lodge and Estate to Delhi University raised, according to Lord Reading, a larger question. On the policy of the government towards New Delhi, the Viceroy posed the question as to whether the central aim was to create an

exclusively official city, meant only for the accommodation of its officers and offices, or whether this was to be a city, not merely an official enclave, which would gradually attract all classes of people who would carry on multifarious activities. He felt that if the university were located in Old Delhi, any tendency on the part of private citizens to gravitate towards New Delhi might cease. The Viceroy wanted the views of the New Capital Committee on this issue.

The New Capital Committee submitted a memorandum stating that when Raisina had been selected as the alternative site it would not appear that anything more had been envisaged than an official Capital. There was no expectation of its 'transformation into a real city, which would be an living organism irrespective of Government's occupation.' The Committee's view was that New Delhi should be 'the quarter primarily devoted to government work' but that in course of time it would become part of a larger metropolitan Delhi. The construction of the university in Raisina would involve a cost of 30–40 lakh rupees and some of the best residential sites would be sacrificed for it. The Old Viceregal Lodge, it concluded, would be far more economical and convenient.

After considerable discussion in the Governor-General's Council, an order was issued on 26 March 1926, that 'the land earmarked for the university in New Delhi be released for other purposes, and that the university be located in the area in the north of old Delhi. Before disposal of the Viceregal Lodge and other parts of the Viceregal Estate the question of the allocation of a suitable site for the university should be considered and determined.'[75]

The university itself now appointed a site committee. This examined the possibilities of several alternative sites—Kashmiri Gate, the Viceregal Estate and the old Metcalfe House Estate. The University's Executive Council decided in favour of Metcalfe House but the Government decided that it wanted this for the Public Service Commission.[76] There the matter hung.

In 1927 another Committee was appointed.[77] Its task was to enquire and report on the extent and nature of assistance, both capital and recurring, which the Governor-General-in-Council might give to the university and to make recommendations to government regarding the permanent sites which might be allocated to the university and its colleges. This Committee recommended the site of the Old Viceregal Lodge and Estate.[78] Again in 1930, Sir Frank Noyce and A. H. Mackenzie, then the Educational Commissioner, gave a careful

scrutiny to the recommendations of the 1927 Committees of Enquiry and agreed that the Viceregal Lodge was the only possible site for Delhi University.[79] But again the transfer was held up. This time delay was due to the needs of the Delhi Conspiracy Case Commission which was housed in the Old Viceregal Lodge buildings. In 1933, after the Commission ended its sittings, the University's Registrar wrote to the Chief Commissioner requesting that the building now be transferred to Delhi University.[80]

The Government of India, finally recognizing 'the urgent need of the University for suitable accommodation in order to establish its corporate life and activities on a sound footing', decided not to delay any longer their decision as regards the location of the university and its colleges on the Old Viceregal Lodge Estate. It transferred eighty-seven acres of the Old Viceregal Lodge Estate to the university for a nominal rent of 3,480 rupees per year.[81] The grounds and buildings would continue to be maintained by the Central Public Works Department but the cost of any structural alterations to existing buildings and of any works executed on the land would have to be borne by the university.[82] This decision, regarding a permanent site for the university was communicated through the Chief Commissioner of Delhi in September 1933.[83]

The Executive Council of the university accepted this offer by the Government of India.[84] All lands and buildings were formally handed over to the university in October 1933. Lord Willingdon was then the Chancellor. Removal of the University Offices and the Library to the new buildings followed immediately. Colleges were not so quick. The only college which was in a position to move to the new site was St Stephen's; but this event did not take place for some years.

Delhi University was originally intended to be a unitary, residential and teaching university of the type recommended by the Sadler Commission. This scheme, however, had soon to be modified in the light of the colleges' demands for their preservation as separate educational institutions. The university, as it developed, was neither residential nor unitary. It was, like any other Indian university, mainly an affiliating and examining body. It functioned largely as a collection of associated colleges loosely federated together. The university undertook no teaching except in law and science and in the latter there was no provision for honours teaching till 1942. The only teaching done in the arts faculty was in economics and that too came to an end with the death of H. L. Chablani, the first reader in economics.

Delhi University was unique among universities in that it had no salaried professors. For the first two decades, postgraduate teaching was done in the colleges mainly by college teachers. As a result the colleges largely controlled the drawing up of curricula and the conduct of examinations. The University in fact consisted only of the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar, and even they were constantly changing.

Delhi University had failed to receive any substantial measure of public confidence because of competition and rivalry between the colleges and because of internal strife and factionalism in university affairs. As a result the university played a very small part in the life of the capital and no part in the life of India as a whole. It did not attract undergraduate or postgraduate students from other parts of India and had very little academic society of its own. It remained scarcely known outside Delhi, and even there, it inspired little confidence.[85]

It was soon realized that the university would develop not on unitary but on federal lines. But certain conditions were considered necessary for the evolution of such a university: (1) The university and its constituent colleges had to be situated in close proximity to each other; (2) Each college had to be actively engaged in work of a university standard; (3) Each constituent college had to be willing to forego some measure of autonomy in order to share in, and contribute to, the life of the university as a whole, and (4) The actual teaching should as far as possible be provided by constituent colleges under the guidance of the university.

These conditions long remained impossible to achieve mainly because of the lack of a permanent site where the university and the colleges could be located, until 1933, when the Old Viceregal Lodge and Estate was made available for university and collegiate purposes. This change in site, interestingly, coincided with a major and significant change in the basic academic structure of the university.

The idea of a federal university had been discussed at some length by Lord Willingdon.[86] In his address to the delegates of the Third Quinquennial Universities Conference, held in Delhi in March 1934, he said that the emergence of a federal university was a logical step 'not a fortuitous coincidence'. Only a university of the federal type could guide and co-ordinate the development of existing colleges. The colleges had to realize, he felt, that this new type of university was intended to supplement, not supplant, their activities, to fulfil and not to destroy the purpose for which they existed. He was

confident that they would then be prepared to submit to a greater degree of university control.

Sir George Anderson, in his Convocation Address in 1933, discussed fully the relation between a federal university and its constituent colleges.[87] The university, he declared, had to have some say in the appointment of teachers made by the colleges. It should also 'advise the Government as to how its financial contributions can be applied most effectively for the common good, so that there should be no duplication or waste.'[88]

The Academic Council of Delhi University considered the proposals for a federal type of University from November 1934 to January 1935,[89] and made its recommendations which were adopted with some modifications by the Executive Council in April 1935.[90] It was agreed that 'the actual teaching should as far as possible be furnished by constituent colleges under the guidance of the University' and that 'teaching should ordinarily be provided by constituent colleges working in close co-operation with one another.' The university would 'supplement, not supplant, the teaching of the colleges, and that mainly in subjects which are beyond the normal scope of colleges or in which centralised teaching is advisable.' Teaching for degree classes in science and law should be provided by the university. The question of how much autonomy the colleges should have was left undecided. It was hoped that the main building would 'form a nucleus for the development of higher teaching and shall thereby provide an effective means of bringing together into a closer unity the staff and students of the Colleges.' By such means 'a true University spirit and valuable University tradition would be engendered.'[91]

In 1938 Sir Maurice Gwyer, the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court, was appointed Vice-Chancellor. The newly established Federal Court in its early years had little work: only three cases came before it in the first twenty months, so the Viceroy prevailed upon the Chief Justice to take Delhi University in hand. Apart from being an eminent lawyer and an able administrator, Sir Maurice was also a distinguished academic, and a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. He was deeply disturbed at the condition of the University.

On his first visit to the Old Viceregal Lodge, the new Vice-Chancellor found that 'Walls were stained with damp and plaster was coming off them; the roofs and ceilings were decayed. The library was a disgrace.' It had been shifted to the Dance Hall of the Viceregal Lodge, a temporary structure built for the Prince of Wales' visit to

Delhi in 1922. The building had decayed quickly, its wooden floors sagging, the plaster peeling off the roofs and walls. The science laboratories were housed partly in the university buildings and partly in the old Viceregal kitchen. The university had no playfields. The university had made no progress except in law and undergraduate science teaching.

Sir Maurice conceived of Delhi University as a miniature Oxbridge. He dreamt of a cluster of small residential colleges around the core of the university. Together with the setting provided by the Old Viceregal Lodge, with its extensive gardens and the Ridge which separated it both from Mughal and New Delhi, it provided an ideal enclave for an academic community to grow living in close physical and intellectual contact.

In August 1939, Sir Maurice Gwyer[92] submitted a memorandum to the Government of India pleading for an all-India university for Delhi. Delhi would be an intellectual and cultural centre for the whole country. He pointed out the advantages which would follow from this, especially in view of the stage reached in India's political evolution. The establishment of provincial autonomy and the complete provincialization of education had made the need for a university in the capital of India 'not less, but infinitely greater'. While a provincial university would reflect and focus the cultural life of the province, a university of the centre should reflect and focus a 'wider and more general culture and discharge for the whole of India' the functions which the provincial universities discharged for their respective provinces. 'Such a University might and should prove one of the great unifying influences in the New India. It would promote the wider outlook which contact with the life of a capital city can alone provide; it would become a clearing house of ideas and of intellectual progress; and it might profoundly influence those who may in future become responsible for the Government of India.' He argued that the success or failure of the University of Delhi would affect the prestige of the Government of India. It was better to 'contemplate its painless extinction than to allow it to continue in its present state.' It seemed to him unthinkable that Delhi should be without a strong university. Delhi should lead and not follow the provinces. Sir Maurice thought that it would be a tragedy if, as India came more and more into control of her own destiny and as Delhi attracted to itself all those elements, national and international which were to be found in the capital of a great country, 'the University

were never to rise above a provincial level and were even to fall below it.' He envisaged Delhi University as a National University which would exercise 'an immense . . . and wholly beneficial influence' and he could conceive of 'no single instrument more apt to produce a unifying effect in the moral and intellectual as distinct from the political sphere.'[93]

Sir Maurice suggested measures by which the transformation of the university might be effected. He did not want to create in Delhi a mere replica of the other universities in India. 'The distinguishing work of a University at the centre should, above all else, be quality, and neither size nor numbers.' The main features of his scheme were:

1. The development in the capital of an all-India university with special characteristics of its own.
2. The establishment of a number of professorial chairs and readerships, making it worthwhile for the best men in India to occupy them.
3. The provision of scholarships and other facilities for post-graduate study and research for encouraging young men of real ability to come to Delhi from every part of India.
4. The transfer of the constituent colleges to the University area.
5. The fixing of a period of three years as the length of the ordinary degree course.
6. A review of relations between the university and the colleges, and of principles in accordance with which maintenance grants are made to colleges.

All this naturally required increased expenditures. The university had never received an adequate income and this had been one of its primary troubles. Its income consisted of less than one lakh from fees and an annual grant of one lakh from the Government of India. Its endowments (mainly trust funds for providing prizes) were only about half a lakh. Sir Maurice argued that unless the university was furnished with a substantially larger income than was presently made available, it would continue to stagnate. Up to 1939 the university had lived from hand to mouth. It had only enough money to exist. Sir Maurice urged that the time had come to take the university seriously.

The Government of India accepted the Vice-Chancellor's scheme and decided initially to make a non-recurring grant of eight lakhs of rupees, spread over a period of five years. Of this, approximately half was to be used for assisting colleges to move to the university site. The Government also decided to increase the recurring grant to the

university by roughly 25,000 rupees a year, rising to a maximum of one lakh in the fourth year, over and above its present grant. This would enable the university to initiate a scheme for the appointment of professors, readers, and postgraduate research scholars.

Sir John Sargent,[94] the Educational Commissioner, felt that the Vice-Chancellor had made out a very strong case in a most persuasive and convincing manner. He was particularly glad that Sir Maurice had laid 'emphasis on the fact that the University of the capital city should have character and standard of its own.' The Educational Commissioner's only suggestion was that a Chair of Education should also be established.[95] Sir Maurice believed that expenditures incurred for the purposes he had outlined would be money well spent. Such actions might even lay the foundation for new educational developments in India. 'India stands on the threshhold of a new era which will make Delhi again one of the great cities of the world; and it would be a lamentable thing if the New India and the Old Delhi were content with a University which did not reflect in the sphere of intellect and culture the illimitable destiny of the Indian people.'[96]

While circumstances did not allow Delhi University to develop entirely along the lines that Sir Maurice had envisaged, various measures he initiated had a lasting impact on it. He introduced the three-year B.A. and B.Sc. Pass and Honours degree courses which were drawn up by the faculties concerned and passed by the Academic Council and the Executive Council in April 1943. This was to enable the academically ambitious to specialize in one subject and thus to prepare them for postgraduate work. One important reason for higher standards of instruction and performance at the postgraduate level in Delhi than in other Indian universities is the more rigorous undergraduate training students undergo. The three-year degree course is today being accepted by a large number of universities in India.

It was during the forties that a number of professors and readers were appointed. In August 1943, the university was able to institute a Readership in English for a period of four years through the generosity of Sir Shri Ram. Dr S. Dutt, formerly Principal of Ramjas College, was appointed Reader in English. Dr S. N. Sen, Keeper of Records of the Government of India, was appointed Professor of History in the same year. Dr D. S. Kothari was appointed Reader in Physics and Dr B. N. Ganguli Reader in Economics.

Like Sir Asutosh Mukherji before him, Sir Maurice searched for talent all over the country and among those whom he brought to Delhi were V. K. R. V. Rao, R. U. Singh, T. R. Seshadhari, P. Maheshwari.

Sir Maurice was keen on improving the status of teachers and took various measures to improve their salary scales, provide them with staff quarters as well as give them security of tenure. The teacher, as he often said, is 'the kingpin of the education system'. Delhi University teachers had even then salaries higher than anywhere else in India. College principals were paid not less than 750 rupees per month, senior teachers 300–20–500 rupees a month and junior teachers 150–10–250. As a result Delhi was able to attract good teachers. A teacher appointed in any of the constituent colleges was deemed a university teacher for the purpose of service conditions, pay scales and various other privileges enjoyed by teachers directly appointed by the university.

The library which in its early years suffered from lack of attention and space, now started improving. Dr S. R. Ranganathan, then librarian of Madras University, was brought to reorganize the Delhi University library. The renovation was achieved with a donation of 25,000 rupees from G. D. Birla. Of its new equipment, sixteen magnificent Burma teak bookcases were obtained with donations from Lord Linlithgow, the Chancellor, Sir Maurice Gwyer and the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford. The library's new building, however, opened only in 1958.

Various all-India open entrance scholarships were instituted to attract students from different parts of the country. Honours and postgraduate classes were started in science in July 1942 and teaching in science subjects was done entirely by the university departments. Extension lectures were introduced where renowned figures such as E. M. Forster, Homi Bhabha and Eve Joliot Curie were invited to speak. The Delhi University Act was amended in 1943 to provide for three-year degree courses and to make provision for a full-time paid Vice-Chancellor. The last provision was not to apply to Sir Maurice. Fortunately for Delhi university, it found in Sir Maurice a man of vision and ability to carry his schemes through. He also had a long spell of twelve years as Vice-Chancellor which enabled him to translate many of his ideas into reality.

In 1933 only the university offices had shifted to the Old Viceregal Lodge. A few years later the library moved. Sites were offered to the

constituent colleges but the construction of buildings was delayed because of the Second World War. The first to move to the new site was St Stephen's College in 1942, followed by Hindu College, Ramjas College and the College of Commerce. The moving in of these colleges was the beginning of the growth of the university campus.

The university celebrated its silver jubilee in May 1947. The silver jubilee year saw the country attain its independence. The university celebrated Independence Day with Professor V. K. R. V. Rao hoisting the national flag on the university main building and Dr Radhakrishnan hoisting it on the Law School building. Sir Maurice Gwyer, who was then in Kasauli, sent a message: 'The new India will open still wider horizons for this university of which, I hope, that it will always remain a real all-India University in the cultural sense. I hope too that it may become one of the most important cultural links between India and the outside world.'

At a special convocation held on 7 March 1948, honorary degrees were conferred on Jawaharlal Nehru, Zakir Hussain, Maulana Azad, John Sargent, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Lord Mountbatten among others. On this occasion Lord Mountbatten disclosed: 'It is a curious but to my wife and myself a very pleasant coincidence that Delhi University should be celebrating the silver jubilee of its foundation in 1922; for we were married in that year and have just celebrated our silver wedding. The connection between these two events may not be immediately apparent until I tell you that the room in which I asked my wife to marry me was Room No.13, which is now the Registrar's office.' In 1956, when Lady Mountbatten came to Delhi, the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr Mahajan, invited her to visit the room where a marble tablet with this statement inscribed on it was fixed on the wall.

The large-scale increase in population after Partition naturally changed the character of the city and had repercussions on the university. To accommodate displaced students from West Panjab, the university was obliged to adopt some new regulations and relax some existing ones. Hindu College, Ramjas College and Indraprastha College each ran a second shift. New colleges had to be started to meet the demand. Hansraj College was started by the managing committee of the D. A. V. College, Lahore. Panjab University began what was then called the Camp College, employing the staff displaced from colleges in West Panjab and the North West Frontier Province and located for almost a decade in a number of buildings on

Mandir Marg. Postgraduate classes from here were taken over by Delhi University as an evening college and located in the Arts Faculty Building, while undergraduate classes were shifted to Central College which was taken over by a Christian Mission and called Nirmala College. This was subsequently taken over by the Kirorimal Trust and renamed Kirorimal College in 1954.

In 1946 the departments of anthropology, botany, library science, modern European languages and zoology were started. The faculties of agriculture and forestry and technology began in 1947, and the social science faculty in 1949. In 1948 a second women's college on the campus, Miranda House, was established. It was named after Sir Maurice Gwyer's favourite Shakespearean character and was also the name of his daughter. The old Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi's oldest college, was reopened as Delhi College. The foundation stone of the arts faculty building was laid by Lord Mountbatten in 1948. The Central Institute of Education was started at the same time and the decision taken to develop the Department of Economics into the Delhi School of Economics. Jubilee Hall, a residential hostel for postgraduate and law students was inaugurated and the tutorial building was completed.

Delhi University which had made little progress in its first twenty years, started developing after 1947. After it was recognized as a central university and started receiving generous grants from the University Grants Commission. It is also fortunate that Delhi has perhaps the strongest school system in the country. The growth of the University of Delhi has been linked with the growth of Delhi not only as the political and administrative capital of India but also as the centre of culture, sports and arts in the country.

NOTES

1. St Stephen's College was founded in 1882 by the Cambridge Mission simultaneously with the founding of Punjab University. In the beginning it was situated in a rented building in a back street behind Chandni Chowk in Kushal Rai ka Katra. Its first principal was Canon Samuel Scott Allnut. In 1891 it shifted to a new building. *St Stephen's College Magazine*, February 1921, p. 4.
2. Hindu College opened in May 1899. Shri Kishan Gurawalla was its founder. It was located in a rented building in Chandni Chowk. Its aim was to give inexpensive secular education side by side with religious instruction according to the principles of the Sanatan Dharma.

3. Sir Henry Sharp was appointed Principal, Jubbulpore High School, Central Provinces, 1894; was Education Secretary, Government of India, 1911–15; became Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, 1915–20; knighted, June 1922; author of *Progress of Education in India, 1907–12*, etc.
4. Edn. D, Proceedings No. 47, June 1912, Sharp's note of 3.6.1912, and Edn. A, Proceedings No. 12, June 1919.
5. Butler's note of 19.6.1912. Edn. D, Proceedings No. 47, June 1912.
6. Edn. A, Proceedings No. 12, June 1919.
7. Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair (1857–1934) educated at Presidency College, Madras, joined the Service 28 March 1899 as Government Pleader, Madras; was Education Member of the Council of the Governor-General, November 1915 to July 1919, when he resigned in protest against the atrocities of the British authorities in the Panjab; appointed Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, January 1920; resigned November 1921; Founder Editor of the *Madras Review*, and Co-Editor of *Madras Law Journal* and author of *Gandhi and Anarchy*.
8. Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler (1869–1938) educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, joined the Indian Civil Service in 1890 as Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the North Western Provinces; was first Education Member in the Council of the Governor-General, was Lt. Governor of the United Provinces, 1918; Governor of United Provinces, 1921–3; Lt. Governor of Burma, 1923–7; author of *India Insistent*.
9. Edn. A, Proceedings No. 12, June 1919.
10. Ibid.
11. Claud Alexander Barron (1871–1948) educated at Aberdeen University and Clare College, Cambridge, joined the Indian Civil Service in 1892 as Assistant Commissioner, Panjab; was Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1918–24; C.S.I., 1921; Financial Commissioner and Secretary to Government of Panjab, Development Department, 1924–7.
12. Sir Hugh Troubridge Keeling trained at R.I.E. College, joined the Madras Public Works Department in 1887 as Assistant Engineer; on Deputation as Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in P.W.D., Delhi, 1912; Member, Imperial Delhi Committee, 1913; C.S.I., 1915; retired, 1920.
13. Sushil Kumar Rudra was born on 7 January 1861. His grandfather received his education under Alexander Duff in Calcutta and was converted to Christianity. S. K. Rudra joined St Stephen's College in 1886 and was Principal from 1906 to 1922.
14. The Calcutta University Commission was appointed in 1917 under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler. Its *Report* was published in thirteen volumes between 1917 and 1919.
15. Edn. A, Proceedings No. 112, Letter from Secretary, Hindu College to Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 24.2.1919. Edn. A, Proceedings No. 112, June 1919.
16. Edn. D, Proceedings No. 1, September 1919.
17. Edn. A, Proceedings No. 112, June 1919.
18. Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869–1932) was President, All India Muslim League, 1913 and 1927; President, All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, 1916; President, Panjab High Court Bar Association, 1917–19; Member of the Governor-General's Council, July 1919 to December 1924; K.C.S.I., January 1922.
19. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922.

20. Ibid. Sharp's note of 15.6.1921.
21. Ibid.
22. Edn. D, Proceedings, No. 25, January 1922.
23. Edn. D, Proceedings, No. 10, April 1922.
24. Sir William Malcolm Hailey (1872–1969) educated at Merchant Taylor's School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; joined the Indian Civil Service in 1894 as Assistant Commissioner; Secretary, Panjab Government, 1907; Deputy Secretary, Government of India, 1908; Member, Durbar Committee 1911, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1912–18; on Deputation with Reforms Committee, 1918; Finance Member, Governor-General's Council, 1919–22; Home Member, 1922–4; Governor of Panjab, 1924–8.
25. Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent (1866–1941) educated at Christ College, Bercon and Trinity College, Dublin; entered the Indian Civil Service in 1887 as Magistrate and Collector, Bengal; Member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of Home Department, April 1917; K.C.S.I., 1918; G.C.I.E., November 1912; Member of the Secretary of State's Council of India, April 1923.
26. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922, W. H. Vincent's note of 3.10.1921.
27. Ibid. Note of W. M. Hailey, 3.10.1921.
28. Sir Charles Alexander Innes, educated at Merchant Taylor's School and St John's College, Oxford; joined the Indian Civil Service in 1898 as Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Madras; was on Special Duty, Department of Industries, from October 1916 to March 1919; Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department, 1920; Member, Governor-General's Council, 1921; K.C.S.I., 1924.
29. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922, Note of Innes, 7.10.1921.
30. Rao Bahadur Bayya Narasimheswara Sharma, appointed Member of the Governor-General's Council on 16 July 1920; resigned, 2 October 1925.
31. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922, note of Sharma, 6.10.1921.
32. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1872–1949) educated at Agra College, Agra; President of Indian Liberal Federation; Member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, 1913–16; Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, 1916–20; Law Member of Viceroy's Executive Council, 1920–3.
33. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922, note of T. B. Sapru, 6.10.1921.
34. Muhammad Ali (1878–1931), educated at Aligarh and Oxford, served in Rampur and Baroda states and later took up jouralism; edited the *Comrade* and *Hamdard*. Played a prominent role in the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements.
35. Edn. A, Proceedings, Nos. 8–24, August 1922. Note of Shafi, 16.10.1921.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Dacca University Act was passed in 1921.
39. Lucknow University Act was passed in 1920.
40. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. II, No. 13, January 1922, pp. 1161–2.
41. Hari Singh Gour (1866–1949) educated at Downing College, Cambridge, and Inner Temple, London; speaker, social reformer and jurist; the first Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University; Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, 1936; Founder (1946) and Vice-Chancellor, University of Saugar; author of *Future India* (1934), *Passing Clouds* (1930), *The Story of Indian Revolution* (1935–6), etc.
42. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar was appointed temporary Additional Judge, Madras High Court, Madras, February 1914; Judge, Madras High Court, November 1915; retired, November 1920.

43. John Pracasa Rao Cotelingam, born 1869; retired Principal, Wardlaw College, Bellary; represented the Indian Christian Community and Madras Presidency in the Legislative Assembly, 1921–3.
44. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. II, No. 13, January 1922, pp. 1894–1911.
45. *Debates of the Council of States*, vol. 22, January–March 1922, pp. 692–7.
46. Narayan Malhar Joshi (1879–1955), graduated from Deccan College, Poona, in 1901; worked as a teacher in the high schools of Ahmednagar, Poona, Bombay and Ratnagiri from 1901–9; started the All India Trade Union Congress and was its Secretary till 1929; elected member of the Central Assembly, Delhi, 1921–47; Member of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (1929–30); Secretary, Bombay Social Reform Association, 1915–30.
47. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. 1933, January 1922, pp. 1894–1911, 1912.
48. *Debates of the Council of States*, vol. 22, January–March 1922, pp. 692–8.
49. Pandit Ganga Nath Jha (1871–1941), M.A., 1892; D.Litt. 1909, University of Allahabad; a profound Sanskrit scholar, started teaching Sanskrit at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, in 1900; first Indian principal of the Banaras Sanskrit College, 1917; Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in U.P., 1918; Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University from 1923 to 1932; translated the *Kavya Prakasa*.
50. Sir Lalubhai Samaldas (1863–1936) educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay; joined Bhavnagar State Service and worked as Chief Revenue officer for fifteen years; President, All India Industrial Conference, Karachi, 1931; Member Maclagan Commission on Co-operation, 1914–15; Member, Senate, Bombay University; President, Indian Merchants Chamber; thrice nominated Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, 1910–20; Member of the Council of States, 1921–5; Member, Bombay Executive Council, 1925.
51. V. G. Kale, born 1876; educated at New English School and Fergusson College, Poona; joined Deccan Education Society; Professor, Fergusson College; Fellow, Bombay University; Member of Council of States, 1921–3.
52. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. II, No. 13, February 1922, pp. 2365–498.
53. Deva Prasad Sarbadhikari, born 1862; C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., B.L., L.L.D., advocate, solicitor; Fellow, Calcutta University, Banaras Hindu University, Dacca and Delhi Universities; Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University; member, Bengal Legislative Council, Indian Legislative Assembly and Council of States.
54. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde (1854–1938); educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay; joined Government Service as a Munsif; Extra-Assistant Commissioner in Berar, 1885 to 1890; retired and started legal practice at Amraoti; Member of Central Legislative Assembly, 1920–5.
55. *Debates of the Council of States*, January–March, 1922, vol. II, pp. 963–86.
56. Edn. B, Proceedings, Nos. 130–2, August 1922. The notification was published in the *Gazette of India*, dated 11 March 1922.
57. Ibid.
58. The provisional E.C. consisted of the following 21 members: the Vice-Chancellor; the Chief Commissioner; H. T. Keeling, Chief Engineer; L. T. Watkins, Superintendent of Education, Delhi and Ajmer–Merwara; S. K. Rudra, Principal; Rev. P. N. F. Young and N. K. Sen of Stephen's College; Principal Kidar Nath of Ramjas College; Dr G. J. Campbell, Principal of Lady Hardinge Medical College; Rai Behadur Lala Sultan Singh, banker; Rev. F. J. Weston, Head of the Cambridge Missions, Delhi; V. F. Gray, Chairman, Punjab Chamber

of Commerce; Khan Bahadur Hakim Ahmad Said Khan, Hon. Magistrate; Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammad Hussain, Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Delhi; Rai Bahadur Lala Amba Prasad, Hon. Magistrate, Delhi; K. C. Roy, A.P.I.; the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid; Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar, M.L.A.; Chaudhuri Shah Buddin, M.L.A.; *Annual Report of Delhi University, 1922–23*, pp. 19–20.

59. *Annual Report of Delhi University, 1922–23*, pp. 12–13.
60. Ibid., p. 3.
61. Ibid., pp. 3–7.
62. Of the 303 registered graduates, 203 were Hindus, 47 Muslims, 9 Europeans, 7 Christians, 9 Sikhs and 1 Parsi. *Annual Report of Delhi University, 1922–23*, p. 8.
63. Sir Purshottmadas Thakurdas (1879–1961) educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay, ex-President, East India Cotton Association Ltd., Bombay; Director, Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company Ltd., Kt., 1923.
64. *Annual Report of Delhi University, 1922–23*, p. 7.
65. Edn. B, Proceedings, Nos. 130–2, August 1922. Also Education Deposit, Proceedings, No. 63, March 1923.
66. Edn. B, Proceedings, Nos. 101–3, April 1923. Note of M. S. D. Butler, 27.2.1923.
67. Ibid., Note of G. H. Spence, 2.3.1923.
68. Ibid., Order-In-Council, 9.3.1923.
69. *St Stephen's College Magazine*, May 1923, pp. 2–3.
70. *Annual Report of Delhi University, 1922–23*, p. 38.
71. Edn. A, Proceedings, No. 62, March 1916.
72. Edn. B, Proceedings, No. 91, November 1922.
73. Edn. B, Proceedings, Nos. 417–18, March 1927.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Executive Council Resolution of 22.1.1927, Minutes of the Executive Council of Delhi University, January 1927, pp. 10–11.
77. Education, Health and Lands A Proceedings, Nos. 1–2, October 1928. This Committee consisted of A. M. Stow, Moti Sagar, R. Littlehailes, B. Rama Rau and A. Rouse.
78. Ibid.
79. Education, Health and Lands, File Nos. 72–3/32-E, Serial Nos. 1–9.
80. Letter to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 15 September 1933, Department of Education, Health and Lands, File Nos. 55–3/33-E, Serial Nos. 1–2.
81. Ibid.
82. Education, Health and Lands, File Nos. 73–189/32-E.
83. Education, Health and Lands, File Nos. 55–3/33-E, Serial Nos. 1–2.
84. Ibid.
85. Maurice Gwyer's Memorandum, August 1939, Department of Education, Health and Lands, K.W. of File Nos. 59–30/39-E, Serial Nos. 1–10.
86. Lord Willingdon (1866–1941) A.D.C. to Governor of Victoria, 1895; M.P., Hastings, 1900–6; Governor of Bombay, 1913–19; Governor of Madras, 10 April 1919 to April 1924; created Viscount, June 1924.
87. Sir George Anderson (1876–1943) educated at Winchester College and University College, Oxford; Professor of History, Elphinstone College, Bombay; Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, 1920; Educational Commissioner with the Government

of India; retired, 1936; publications include: ***British Administration in India, Christian Education in India***, etc.

88. *University of Delhi, Eleventh Convocation*, 25 March 1923, Address by Sir George Anderson, pp. 13–15.
89. *Minutes of the Academic Council of Delhi University*, November 1934–January 1935.
90. Ibid., April 1935.
91. Letter from the University of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, No. 538, 27.4.1935.
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93. Gwyer, Memorandum.
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PANJABI REFUGEES AND THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF GREATER DELHI

V. N. DATTA

One might be tempted to exaggerate the role Panjabi refugees have played in the transformation of Delhi that has taken place since 1947. Even without the influx of Panjabis, the metropolitan area would have grown. And yet it is undeniable that the hardy Panjabi, displaced from Pakistan, has made a world of difference to the development of Delhi. Many times in its history, the city has become the home of emigrants. Descending upon it in blind rage, uprooted and deprived newcomers have found or generated new life, insomuch that the city became more energetic, more inventive, and more spirited than ever before.

In 1947 Delhi lay mainly within the old city wall. Lutyen's New Delhi was outside it, southward at one extreme; and the old Secretariat complex and civil lines outside it, northward, at the other. With Partition, some 47.5 lakhs (4.75 millions) of refugees migrated to India. Of these, 4,95,391 came to Delhi.[1] The total number of displaced persons coming into the Delhi area each year during the period between 1946 and 1950 ranged from 91 persons in 1940 to 468,562 in 1947; it then declined to 26,222,400, and 166 during the next three years.[2]

Throughout the period since 1947 there has been continuous increase in population. The striking increase of *c.* 18 per cent in the decade before 1921 was due to the transfer of the capital from

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TABLE 1

Population Growth in Delhi Area from 1901 to 1971[3]

Year	Persons	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Male	Female
1901	4,05,819	—	—	2,17,921	1,87,898
1911	4,13,851	+8,032	1.98	2,30,865	1,82,986
1921	4,88,452	+74,601	+18.03	2,81,777	2,06,675
1931	6,36,246	+1,47,794	+30.26	3,69,497	2,66,749
1941	9,17,939	+2,81,693	+44.30	5,35,236	3,82,703
1951	17,44,072	+8,26,133	+90.00	9,86,538	7,57,534
1961	26,58,612	+9,14,540	+52.44	14,89,378	11,69,234
1971	40,65,698	+14,07,086	+52.92	22,57,515	18,08,183

Calcutta to Delhi and to Delhi's growing administrative and commercial importance. The higher rate of increase during the decade from 1931 to 1941 can be attributed to the Second World War which also created much new employment in commerce, industry and transport. The next decade, from 1941 to 1951, witnessed an unprecedented rise of 90 per cent. This increase is accounted for by the influx of refugees. Of the total population of Delhi in 1951, refugees comprised 28.4 per cent. The large increases of 52.44 per cent in 1961 and 52.92 per cent in 1971 came largely from migrants who left other provinces from Uttar Pradesh, Panjab and Rajasthan in the north, all the way south to Kerala.[4]

TABLE 2

Population of Urban and Rural Areas in Delhi Territory, 1941–1971[5]

Year	Total population (both sexes)	Urban population (both sexes)	Rural population (both sexes)
1941	917,939	695,686	222,253
	(100.0)	(73.8)	(29.7)
1951	1,744,072	1,437,134	306,938
		(82.4)	(17.6)
1961	2,658,612	2,359,408	299,204
		(88.7)	(11.3)
1971	4,065,698	3,647,023	418,675
		(89.7)	(10.3)

Of the total urban population of Delhi, 1,437,134, the population of urban refugees (470,386) came to 32.7 per cent. The density of the urban population per square kilometre grew from 3,470 in 1941 to 7,169 in 1951, and then levelled out at 8,272 in 1971.[6]

The impact of the refugee population is evident from the density figure of 1951, which is an increase of 106.6 per cent over that of 1941–51. In terms of spatial growth, the city's urban area expanded from *c.* 42 square kilometres in 1901 to 445 square kilometres in 1971—or by more than ten times.

Panjabi refugees did not come to Delhi all at once. Mostly they migrated in groups. They first went to other places and settled down temporarily in east Panjab and Uttar Pradesh before they eventually reached Delhi. Various considerations affected their choice of Delhi as a place of residence. They came to Delhi because of relatives and friends who lived there, and even if not, because they felt safe in Delhi. Delhi offered them better prospects than any other place in India. The majority of refugees also already had an urban background and hence chose Delhi for business opportunities. Some affluent Panjabi businessmen who had migrated from Pakistan remarked: 'Where else could we go? Amristar was sulking on the border. Ludhiana had not developed. Ambala had no water supply. Delhi was the only obvious choice because it was both the capital and commercial centre.'[7] Some Panjabi refugees who were government servants came to Delhi on transfer, others because of caste or group affiliations and quite a large number of them purely by accident.

These refugees flooded Delhi, spreading themselves out wherever they could. They thronged in camps, schools, colleges, temples, *gurdwaras*, *dharmasalas*, military barracks, and gardens. They squatted on railway platforms, streets, pavements, and every conceivable space. The Purana Qila became a refugee colony. Wooden shacks sprang up, leaning against crumbling walls and ancient battlements. Houses in the old city 'evacuated' by Muslims were forcibly occupied by incoming refugees, thereby creating subsequent 'property' problems for the government. Government officials also encountered difficulties in trying to remove various forms of unauthorized construction, encroachment, and occupancy. Many, without clothes to protect them from the winter's cold and without any shelter, slept along the thoroughfares in Chandni Chawk or in Queen's Garden.[8]

Because of this influx of refugees, Delhi faced a situation for which there was no parallel nor precedent. No physical, economic, and administrative infrastructure existed to cope with it. No extra housing, water supply, sewage, or transport was available. The refugees were in such dire straits, that unless something had been done immediately,

there might have been dangerous social and political consequences. The Government of India decided to set up a ministry of rehabilitation. In this Nehru's role proved vital. He pursued a humane, enlightened and realistic policy. His drive and imagination brought into existence an effective organization to deal with the problem. Gandhi too was deeply concerned about the refugees, and at his daily prayer meetings he lamented their plight.[9] The task was so colossal that any government would have been hard pressed. The Ministry of Rehabilitation, established on 6 September 1947 with K. C. Neogy as Minister, set up three refugee camps. These were located in Kingsway (the largest, with 30,000 inmates), in Tibia College area in Karol Bagh, and in Shahdara.[10] The government supplied food (including vitamin and calcium tablets), blankets, jerseys, shirts, shorts and other clothes. These refugee camps were a temporary arrangement: census figures show that their populations were declining by July 1948 and serve as an index of the pace of rehabilitation.

In order to rehabilitate displaced persons, the Central Government launched the following schemes.[11]

Allotments of Houses, Shops, Industrial Enterprises

The following table[12] shows immovable property allotted to displaced persons by the end of 1951. About 190,000 refugees were accommodated in houses left by Muslims.

TABLE 3

	Houses	Shops	Industrial Sites
Premises abandoned and taken over	25,108	5,428	292
Premises allotted to displaced persons	15,268	2,570	231

New Housing Accommodation

For those refugees who could not be accommodated in abandoned houses, new construction was taken in hand. Table 4 shows the areas where houses were constructed and numbers of refugees provided for.[13]

By December 1950, three lakhs of refugees had been housed (1,90,000 in evacuated houses and 1,00,000 in the new constructions). Besides these, 1,100 plots were allotted to displaced persons who then built their own houses. The rest, temporarily put up in makeshift

TABLE 4

Colony	Area (Acres)	Anticipated population
Rajendra Nagar (New Delhi Extn. area.)	255	22,000
Patel Nagar (Shadipur)	400	24,000
Malkaganj	28	2,500
Kingsway	151.3	18,000
Vijay Nagar	40	3,000
Nizamuddin	33	2,500
Nizamuddin Extension	64	4,000
Jangpura	130	7,000
Janpura Neighbourhood (A and B)	26	1,500
Lajpat Nagar (East)	450	27,000
Lajpat Nagar (West)	300	18,000
Kalkaji	335	17,000
Malviya Nagar	400	24,000
Bharat Nagar	14	1,500
Tilak Nagar (Tehar)	266	15,000
Purana Qila	200	6,000
Kotla Ferozshah	7	1,500
Azadpur	9.2	1,500
Regharpura	7.5	2,500
Anguri Bagh	1.0	450
Pradesh Garden	1.6	300
Total	2,958.6	1,199,250

tenements, still had to be accommodated. By the end of 1951, 529 one-roomed, 3,398 two-roomed, 257 single-storey and 166 double-storey three-roomed houses; 11,159 single-roomed tenements; 1,518 shops and stalls; and 593 shops-cum-residences had been completed. Another 88 two-roomed and 19 three-roomed houses, and 8,456 tenements were then under construction.[14]

Business and Shopping Centres

Table 5 indicates the numbers of units built for refugees.[15]

The total value of assistance rendered to 97,602 persons claiming 'displaced' or 'refugee' status, as of 31 January 1961, came to: 18,33,40,634 rupees' worth in property transfers; 13,77,05,933 rupees in cash payments; and 4,57,99,084 rupees in 'adjustments of public dues' (cancellations, forgivenesses, or remissions of taxation).[16]

Educational Facilities

According to the 1951 census, the government opened thirteen high

TABLE 5

Shops constructed by the Government

Area	Units	Area	Units
Kamla Market	267	Rajendra Nagar	136
Man Nagar	148	Patel Nagar	138
Sarojini Market	200	Lajpat Nagar	162
Sewanagar	32	Purana Qila	60
Karolbagh, Arya Samaj Road	184	Ferozshah Kotla	6
Daryaganj	72	Malkaganj	17
Lehna Singh Market	48	Vinay Nagar	24
Roshanara	196	Nizamuddin	10
Mori Gate	78	Nizamuddin Extension	20
Saar Bazar	26	Jangpura	20
+ Comml. offices	20	Kalkaji	20
Qutb Road	91	Malviya Nagar	28
Queensway	94	Tilak Nagar	20
Irwin Road	296	Azadpur	10
Panchkuian Road	212	Pardah Garden	52
Kingsway	229	Mutiny Memorial Road	80

Shops and Stalls constructed by Local Governments

Unspecified Local Bodies

Area	Units
Connaught Circus	130
Lodi Road	249
Babar Road	52
Humayun Road	52
Baird Road	33
Irwin Road	37
Lady Hardinge Road	14
Irwin Road, Opposite Rivoli	3
Queensway	94
Irwin Road	296
Panchkuian Road	212
Delhi Municipal Committee	
Lajpat Rai Municipal Market	1933
Amrit Kaur Municipal Market	198
G. B. Road	150
Notified Area Committee; Civil Station	
Tis Hazari (Rajendra, Randhawa and Khanna Market)	350
Notified Area Committee; Fort	
Parade ground along Esplanade Road	110
Pleasure garden along Chandni Chowk	36

schools, twelve middle schools and fifteen primary schools; one vocational-cum-cultural, and one teachers' training centre for refugee children. Stipends were awarded students from primary to intermediate schools which covered 'freeship' concessions, books, and stationery. The stipends awarded varied from five rupees for primary-school students to twenty rupees for fifth- and sixth-year students; from forty rupees for ninth- and tenth-year students to thirty to forty rupees for students in the intermediate classes.[17] Each stipend was determined by the parents' financial means or circumstances.[18]

'Camp' College, affiliated to Panjab University (then called East Panjab University), provided higher education up to the M.A. degree for refugee students, at nominal fees. This college functioned in a municipal school building.

In order to fill the void left by the out-migration of Muslim artisans, training-cum-work centres for displaced persons were established. These provided facilities in the following locations:[19] Arab-ki-Sarai, 300 seats; Kingsway Azadpur, 150 seats; Malviya Nagar, 45; Lajpat Nagar, 72; and Tilak Nagar, 60 seats. In all, a total of 627 persons were being trained in these centres when they were at full capacity. The centres provided training mostly in cottage and small-scale industries. Another one hundred and twenty-five seats were reserved for refugee boys at the Delhi Polytechnic. Twelve production-work and training centres for the training of 'displaced, destitute and unattached' women (and widows) were also opened.[20]

Co-operative Societies[21]

Societies for thrift and credit, in industrial, multi-purpose and vegetable-growing areas were set up. These were supposed to stimulate self-help and co-operation among 'displaced' persons. Loans were also given to the needy; and in 1950–1 a special maintenance allowance was recommended for 6,829 persons.[22]

The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation Annual Reports contain massive amounts of material on progress made in the settlement of refugees. Of 1,02,000 houses abandoned by Muslims up to the end of March 1948, only 2,593 were officially allotted to refugees and the rest were illegally occupied by them.[23] The houses abandoned by Muslims were smaller and of an inferior quality than those of non-

Muslims in Pakistan, as the non-Muslims had possessed a higher standard of living. The allotment of evacuee property of refugees was slow. Of 4,026 evacuee business premises, only 250 shops were allotted and forty confirmed up to 31 August 1948.[24] A specific amount was earmarked for the construction of houses; for example, the *Annual Report, 1947–48* shows that for New Delhi North Extension, the cost of 3,200 houses was estimated at 12,427,000 rupees, sale of plots in Shadipur at 23,063,000 rupees, and for building material, 2.5 crore rupees.[25] Five hundred unauthorized residential structures and 700 unauthorized stalls were cleared and occupants given new tenements and shops by the end of 1951. According to the *Annual Report, 1952–53*, the cost of housing during 1950–1 was 370 lakh rupees, and of providing a water supply to the colonies of South Delhi *c.* 17 lakh rupees.[26] The number of residential units for displaced persons (up to 1958) came to 42,340 constructed by government and 7,989 by displaced persons themselves—or a sum total of 50,309 units.[27] The number of shops and stalls came to 7,616.

The Annual Report (August 1948 to December 1948) shows how expeditiously loans were given. A loan of 4,262,075 rupees was sanctioned for refugees of which 2,431,150 rupees was dispersed; 257,700 rupees were given to 175 traders and shop-keepers; 28,200 rupees to seventeen medical practitioners and chemists, 23,500 rupees to persons starting small-scale industry while eighty women got 20,250 rupees for the purchase of sewing machines.[28] A loan of 192,985 rupees was given to refugee students and 39,024 rupees as free grants to school students up to 31 August 1948. Gratuitous relief was given to 1,280 handicapped persons. Small urban loans (to be payable in easy instalments) not exceeding 500 rupees were advanced to refugees; for the first year they were free of interest, and for the next two years interest was to be charged at 3½ per cent. To individual business and private limited companies, loans of up to 50,000 rupees and to joint stock companies up to one lakh rupees were allowed.[29] Eighteen hundred refugees secured jobs through the employment exchange up to March 1952. It is estimated that these loans resulted in the settlement of about three lakh displaced persons.[30] The *Annual Reports* also make a special mention of the small-scale industry training centre at Arab-ki-Sarai where Japanese technicians gave specialized training to young refugees in twelve different crafts.

The construction of a large number of houses, shops and industrial establishments resulted in the creation of new colonies. Townships

sprang up. There were four core areas: in the south, Malviya Nagar, in the west the two Rajendra Nagars, the three Patel Nagars, Moti Nagar, Ramesh Nagar and Tilak Nagar; in the east, Gandhi Nagar in Shahdara, while the 'interstices of the old city including Chandni Chowk, Bara Hindu Rao, Subzimandi, Sadar Bazar, Sarai Rohilla, Jhandewalan, Paharganj, on to Shakur Basti along old Rohtak Road filled up to bursting point'![31] Thus the limits of Delhi extended beyond Kailash and Qutb in the south, covering Faridabad in the south-east, Gurgaon in the south-west and well beyond Najafgarh in the west, while in the east, Shahdara and Gaziabad are now in 1983, almost one.[32] The urban area consisting of the Municipal Corporations of Delhi, New Delhi and Delhi Cantonment grew from a total of *c.* 198 in 1951 to 323 square kilometres in 1961.[33]

City–Sardar–Paharganj, Karol Bagh–Patel Nagar, Civil Lines–Subzimandi and West Delhi form the main resettlement areas of refugees. These colonies have acted as independent nuclei for further extension. They remain like islands, self-contained, yet are drawn into the mainstream of Delhi life. These colonies are each equipped with a market place, a shopping centre, a temple and a *gurdwara*, a bank, a police station, a school, a post and telegraph office, a taxi stand, a cinema and in certain cases, a swimming pool and a terminal bus depot. The houses are usually not multi-storeyed or spacious. On the main roads there are larger houses, but within the colony single-storeyed houses predominate and further on are the small houses of low-income groups. Daily needs are met in a market which is usually in the centre of each colony. In East Patel Nagar television sets are common and some people also own cars. But for most transportation the three-wheel and motorized scooter is popular. People in these colonies have tried to recreate their former lives. Walking in these areas one feels as though one were in the Dev Samaj, Krishan Nagar or Ram Nagar colonies of Lahore. As these colonies expand, their well-to-do inhabitants move out to healthier and more select localities—like Golf Links, Vasant Vihar, Greater Kailash, Ring Road, New Friends Colony and Defence Colony.

While government schemes have contributed to the rehabilitation of refugees it would be a mistake to think that government alone can take credit for it all. Dr V. K. R. V. Rao has paid eloquent tribute to the initiative and enterprise of Panjabi refugees whose example re-affirmed his faith in the 'crucial role of the human factor in economic development'.[34]

Dr Stephen L. Keller in his study of refugees has shown how in the initial stages a Panjabi refugee was bemused and semi-paralysed by events, but how he soon recovered and not only set about making himself a new life with firmness and perseverance, but finally became 'aggressive in spirit'.[35]

Success meant wealth. Refugees were determined to acquire it by improving their skills. There is a poignant story dating back to early 1948, of a bare-footed and ill-clad Panjabi youth hawking the *Evening News* in Connaught Place. A kind soul offered him, in exchange for a newspaper, a rupee note. The young man retorted: 'I am not a beggar!' Their capacity for hard work and belief in the dignity of labour—whether it was hawking, vending vegetables, or working as porters at railway stations—enabled many refugees to survive and then to thrive.

While 3.29 lakh Muslims moved out of Delhi on account of the Partition, 4.95 lakh non-Muslims entered Delhi. Thus the population of non-Muslims as a whole gained by 1.66 lakhs.[36] The Muslim population grew rapidly, from 99,500 in 1947 to 155,534 in the decade between 1951 and 1961.[37] But Muslim out-migration also caused an economic gap which non-Muslim refugees could hardly fill. The occupational skills of non-Muslim refugees was vastly different from those of Delhi Muslims. The local Muslims were mostly artisans, petty traders and labourers. Non-Muslim refugee newcomers were non-cultivating landlords, money-lenders, doctors, lawyers, teachers, traders, and small shopkeepers. Thus a striking change in the occupational pattern of Delhi occurred, as it was difficult for non-Muslims to adopt the hitherto Muslim occupations. No simple substitution was possible. Refugees took up jobs which were new to them, as hawkers, vendors, mechanics, carpenters, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, etc.[38] Even traders turned to service and other professions.[39]

The Panjabis came mostly from urban areas in west Panjab. Of the total of 495,391 refugees, 470,386 had been city dwellers; 82,340 refugees (about one-sixth of the refugee population in Delhi) had belonged to Lahore. Of the others 39,081 were from Rawalpindi, 36,312 from Multan, 26,527 from Shahpura, 25,586 from Gujranwala, 24,683 from Lyallpur and 17,624 from Sialkot.[40] With their urban backgrounds, the Panjabis naturally interested themselves in trade and commerce. This is also evident from Rao and Desai's work which indicates that refugees from rural Panjab constituted a very small minority.[41]

Their natural inclination was towards government services, professions and even into skilled labour. Initially they were slow to enter trade. This is understandable because capital is required for investment. The proportion of traders thus fell steeply after 1947, but then rose steadily till it reached a figure of 29.0 per cent in 1952 as compared to 16.7 in 1947. The pre-Partition figure had been 45.3 per cent.[42] Some refugees had carried assets worth no more than 100 rupees or so. But they sold whatever jewellery or utensils they possessed in order to set up small businesses.

Another factor which helped refugees to make a success in trade was that most of them were literate. According to Rao and Desai, 88 per cent of the males in Kingsway Camp and 68 per cent of the females claimed to be literate. It is interesting to note that the literacy percentage of refugees was 51.8 as compared to 48.2 for the population of Delhi in 1951.[43]

The study by Rao and Desai makes a distinction between migrants, refugees, and residents. Especially relevant to this study is their distinction between refugees and residents. This shows that in relation to residents, refugees began to improve their economic status in terms of employment, income, and standard of living. Rao and Desai indicate a rise in the proportion of earning dependents in Delhi over what had existed in pre-Partition days. As an index of partial refugee rehabilitation, the proportion of those employed marks a rise from 23.1 to 32.8 per cent. The number of people in agriculture fell from 6.2 to 0.04 per cent. In manufacture, service, transport, construction, percentages rise from 15.2, 27.1, 7.4 and 2.7 to 20.8, 31.4, 9.6 and 3.3, respectively. Trade and commerce percentages fell from 40.5 to 33 per cent. About 70 per cent found employment in trade, transport, and services while manufacturing could account for about 20 per cent. The rest were absorbed in construction and public utilities.

In 1951, while the percentages for the total population of the Delhi area came to 22.71 per cent in commerce, 5.46 per cent in public transport, and 44.63 in other services, the percentages of 'displaced persons' or refugees in comparable categories of livelihood came to 34.5 per cent in commerce, 19.6 in public transport and 42.4 per cent in other services.[44]

Thus in commerce and transport, refugees could show an increase of about twelve and fourteen per cent against the total Delhi population. Obviously refugees became more concentrated in services, commerce, and public transport. According to Rao, not much

fundamental change occurred in patterns of economic activity. From the pre-migration period to the period after 1947, people took to the same types of economic activity.[45] The occupations which they pursued in higher proportions were those of hawkers, shop assistants, small shopkeepers, clerks and typists. Sweepers and domestic servants did not figure largely among them.[46] In the 7,616 stalls and shops built for their businesses, Rao and Desai show that the refugee slowly began to gain ascendancy over local residents. Trade and services claimed 31.9 and 36.3 per cent of all refugees respectively, while only 25.2 and 33.0 per cent of the residents remained in the same occupations. More interesting, the average earned income of the refugee came to 162.8 rupees compared to 156.6 rupees for the resident.

The refugee in fact stole a march over the resident in trade and commerce. In the beginning, the resident was sympathetic to the plight of the refugee; but when he found that the refugee was becoming a strong rival in business, his attitude changed. The question of refugee–resident relationships falls outside the scope of this study.[47] The fact remains that the refugee began to dominate trade in Delhi. He did this because of superior initiative and enterprise. The local businessman tended to stock his goods, and then to take his own time in selling them, at an excessive profit. He tended not to bring in new articles. The refugee on the contrary would sell his wares for a small profit. He tended to find new articles for sale. Again, the refugee had no establishment to maintain. Just a box or two would be enough, and a large part of its contents would be sold by evening. He would sit at a strategic spot on the pavement or in front of a resident's shop and sell his wares. He would not mind standing, even for the whole day; or he would attract customers in areas which were frequented by visitors from neighbouring states. Chandni Chawk was popular with tourists; and the refugee planted himself there. He learned the arts of attracting customers. He would not scruple to undersell the resident, even in his presence. Bargaining did not tire him. He had to possess endurance and patience. He wanted quick returns and needed money to meet his daily needs; but the resident, not so pressed for money, would wait and delay. On the one hand there was drive, patience, and the competitive spirit; on the other, conservatism, smugness, and caution. One gave smiles, the other, scowls. The Panjabi was frank and ingratiating; the resident, apathetic.

It is no wonder, therefore, that resident merchants could not compete. Refugees proved that they could. In pre-Partition days,

non-Muslims had built up the economy of West Panjab by hard work in trade and banking. Khatris and Aroras had provided the intelligentsia and had developed much by their industry in West Panjab. A casual look at the Delhi telephone directory of 1979 shows that Khatris and Aroras—with surnames such as Khanna, Kapur, Chopra, Tandon, Malhotra, Seth, Puri, Sondhi, Talwar, Sahni, Mehra, Nagpal, Chawla, Taneja, Juneja, Tuteja, Dhingra, and Grover—are connected with business and services. They now reside in Golf Links, Vasant Vihar, Greater Kailash, Lajpat Nagar, Defence Colony, Maharani Bagh, Bungalow Road, and other select neighbourhoods. A Khatri is now not merely a shopkeeper. He is a successful administrator, a banker, and a merchant. He is industrious, tactful and enterprising. This reservoir of energy provided foundations for the rapid urbanization of Delhi in recent decades.

A survey of *Katras*[48] in Chandni Chawk shows how many shops have been taken over from local residents by Panjabi refugees. In Katra Nawab, Cloth Market,[49] for example, one discovers that when Panjabi refugees first came to do business in this area, ninety per cent of these shops had belonged to the old residents of Delhi. Now only ten per cent of the shops belong to old residents; and the rest to Panjabi refugees. To rent a shop in this area it was necessary to give 200,000 rupees in 'black money' (under the counter) to get possession. This still holds true for many shops. Shops here were once made of wood and built haphazardly. A proprietor of a large commercial establishment in Karol Bagh started a petty business in Connaught Place on a pavement. He is now reported recently to have paid two million rupees, under the table, for a shop in Connaught Place. He is a Khatri.

Sardar Kishan Singh of New Lajpat Market in old Delhi, when asked how Panjabi refugees supplanted resident shopkeepers, replied, 'We wanted to sell the same day, even at a small profit, but they would wait for days. Thus they were left behind in the race for business.' In high spirits, he added, 'And now my shop can fetch three lakhs.'[50] Kishan Singh is a refugee from Lahore. Arora by caste, he had assets worth only a thousand rupees when he migrated. Prakash Krishna, a university graduate and proprietor of a large bookshop in Connaught Place is now one of the leading booksellers of Delhi. He arrived from Pakistan with books worth 60,000 rupees, through the help of Muslim friends. His assets now come to 50,000,000 rupees, and include two houses (one in Nizamuddin), a plot in

Bombay, and three shops (one of which he owns). He has also settled two of his brothers in flourishing businesses. Prakash Krishna is an Arora.[51]

Madan Lamba's success in the catering business has been phenomenal. He brought assets worth 25,000 rupees from Pakistan. His family had run a Volga Restaurant in Lahore, and Kwality in Simla. After Partition, he took over the Volga in Delhi, paying 90,000 rupees which he borrowed from various agencies in 1952. This restaurant is now one of the most popular in Delhi. Lamba owns a house in Golf Links which brings him a monthly rent of 8,000 rupees. He runs the Diplomatic Hotel and three other restaurants, including the Indian Coffee House in Bombay. A graduate and a Khatri, Lamba is a migrant from Model Town, Lahore.[52] His relatives run several restaurants, including Kwality. Panjabi refugees have obviously become very successful in the catering business. In pre-Partition days, Connaught Place had only two restaurants. These, Piccadilly and Devicos, were then run by foreigners. They have since passed into Panjabi hands, and are now called Standard and Metro.

Some migrants who had been very rich in Pakistan and who lost almost all their property and assets developed a different outlook. They are content with making only enough money to provide them with a comfortable living. P. N. Bhatia, a firm of opticians in Connaught Place, provides such a case.[53] He belonged to a well-known family of opticians and eye-surgeons of Lahore with assets worth thirty lakh rupees. Partition proved nearly ruinous. He is now well off, has a house in Nizamuddin which has a rental value of 3,000 rupees per month. His two sons, both educated at St Columbus School and St Stephen's College, are now senior executives. Bhatia is not as wealthy as he once was. When asked about this, he stoically remarked, 'What is the use? Whatever we had was lost. Why worry? We are content with our bread and butter.'

Retail shops, stores for general merchandise and repair works owned by Panjabi refugees lie scattered all over Delhi. But they are principally concentrated in Chandni Chawk, Connaught Place, Janpath, Ajmal Khan Road (Karol Bagh) and Kingsway, or within business enclaves in places like South Extension, Rajendra Nagar and Lajpat Nagar. Some of these centres have their own markets—such as Lajpat Rai Market in Chandni Chawk, Shankar Market for Connaught Place, and Gaffar Market for Karol Bagh. Panchkuian Road is dominated by Panjabi refugees and houses numerous shopkeepers serving the middle- and lower-income groups.

According to the 1961 census, the city had more than 14,000 commercial establishments.[54] A fifth of its working force is employed in this section. Commerce and trade provide the largest proportion of its income. About 73 per cent of these commercial units are spread across the City–Sadar–Paharganj complex, in Karol Bagh and around Connaught Place. This is where former refugees are also concentrated. The proliferation of retail and general merchandise shops under Panjabi refugee ownership is one of the main reasons why Delhi has become such a great retail market. It is this which makes Delhi one of the greatest market towns among 'a million cities'.[55]

Many a refugee had no interest in industry. He had neither money to invest nor experience. There had not been much industry in West Panjab. Furthermore, quick returns did not come from it. The Panjabi refugee could only invest in a business which brought immediate profits.

According to Rao and Desai, trade had been hard hit in Delhi. This was largely due to interstate tax policies. Industry was needed to mitigate the situation. Their study shows that a transfer of nine per cent of the total workforce from services and trade to manufacturing industries occurred.[56] The proportion of employees in industry increased from 8 to 17.3 per cent; of independent workers increased from 12 to 13 per cent; and of house workers, from 23.5 to 27.4 per cent. The proportion of unemployed workers fell from 4.4 to 2.1 per cent. Refugees took to industry after saving some capital for investment. Government loans and concessions helped them set up small-scale industries. The Ministry of Rehabilitation extended facilities for establishing such industries to refugees in Malaviya Nagar and Kalkaji. About twenty-five industries were allotted to them.[57] Between 1945 and 1951 the number of registered factories grew from 227 to 431. Prior to 1945 there had been only three cycle industries; but by 1951 there were seven. There had been only three sewing-machine plants before 1946. These increased to sixteen during the next five years.[58] The first comprehensive survey by the Directorate of Industries shows that, by 1951, there were 8,160 industrial units employing 69,266 persons; and that they represented a capital investment of eighteen crores.[59]

Delhi is now an important industrial centre, predominantly small-scale, with plants manufacturing sophisticated electronic items—micro calculators, tape recorders, transformers, radio and television sets. An area with a radius of fifty kilometres around Delhi has

become the hub of this industrial activity. New 'ring towns' have sprung up: Sonepat, Ballabghar and Ghaziabad. These are part of a 'spillover of the industrial potential of Delhi'.[60] Okhla Industrial Estate was set up by the government for refugee enterprises. Faridabad, also exclusively meant for rehabilitating refugees, serves as a remarkable testimony to the self-sacrifice, hard work and dedication of the early settlers. Built up brick by brick, it began with the construction of seventy-four sheds. These were later transformed into factories and production centres. These existing infrastructural supports have attracted prospective entrepreneurs from other parts of India, especially from Bombay and Calcutta. By 1969 Okhla had 1,800 units in large-scale machine plants and in small-scale sectors. This represented a total investment of over Rs 650 crore and an annual turnover exceeding 750 crore rupees, with an employment strength of 115,000 people.[61]

Panjabi refugees secured loans and other forms of assistance from the government to set up industries in towns neighbouring Delhi. Some of these have become widely known for the quality and great variety of manufactured goods they produce.[62] Escorts (Faridabad), managed by H. P. Nanda, was once a small agency house. Uprooted from Panjab, it is now the largest manufacturer of 20 to 50 h.p. tractors in Asia. Its annual turnover is 80 crore rupees. Atlas (Sonepat) was set up by Janki Dass Kapur. A businessman from Lahore, Kapur has become one of the largest manufacturers of cycles in Asia, with annual production running at one million cycles—one cycle every thirty seconds, and with an annual turnover of twenty crore rupees. Bharat Steel Tubes (Faridabad) established by Raunaq Singh, an iron and steel dealer in Chauri Bazar, and by S. S. Kanwar, has become one of the largest manufacturers of steel tubes and pipes in the country. Frick (Faridabad), founded by Manmohan Singh, manufactures refrigeration and air-conditioning plants, with an annual turnover of 2.38 crores. Ranbaxy Laboratories Ltd. (Okhla), managed by Bhai Mohan Singh, are the manufacturers of pharmacological products, with an annual turnover of eight crore rupees. Usha Spinning and Weaving Mills (Faridabad), managed by Jaswant Rai, are turning out cotton yarn and have an annual turnover of 5.13 crores. M. L. Manchanda (Faridabad) are in printing and packaging, with an annual turnover of 45.53 lakhs. Tabros Automotive Components Ltd. (Faridabad) established by W. N. Talwar, process petrochemicals and have an annual turnover of 3.20 crores.

The process of rapid urbanization is still going on. As the population of Delhi has increased, former Panjabi refugees have led the way toward rapid commercial and industrial expansion. This reservoir of human material, waiting to be harnessed for reconstruction and development, came at the right moment and met the challenge. What Toqueville called 'boldness of enterprise' describes the role of the Panjabi refugee in Delhi.

Former refugees from Panjab have gained a commanding influence in Delhi, and are a directing force in the life of the city. In moments of national peril, they have shown resilience and adaptability. They have not only restored for themselves their former standards of life but have exceeded those standards. Theirs is a society based on individual achievement. Uprooted from their old moorings, their original environment could not be reproduced. It would be difficult to say whether they could ever have recreated a homogeneous Panjabi society in Delhi. Yet, there can be no doubt that they have left their mark upon the city.

Panjabi refugees do not look back. The future is in their bones. They never tire of repeating the couplet:

Khada peeta lahey da
Bakee ahmad sahey da.

(What we can eat and drink, is ours
What is left may go to Ahmad Shah the invader.)

It is this attitude which enables them to meet new situations boldly and not to fear the future.

NOTES

1. Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, *Annual Report on Evacuation, Relief and Rehabilitation of Refugees (1954–55)*, p. 42. The annual reports of the Ministry of Rehabilitation give different figures ranging from 44,893. The *Census* of 1951 also gives the same figure of 49,53,91. According to the *Annual Report* (1952–53), there are 510,000 refugees in Delhi. See p. 31.
2. *Census of India*, 1951, vol. VIII, Part I-A, p. 86. Also see vol. XVIII.
3. *Census of India*, 1961, vol. XIX, Part II-A, p. 44, and *Census of India*, 1971, *Delhi District Census Handbook* (Series 27) (States).
4. V. K. R. V. Rao and P. B. Desai, *Greater Delhi (A Study in Urbanization 1940–1957)* (Bombay, 1965), p. 110.
5. *Delhi District Census Handbook*, Series 27; *Annual Report of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, 1952–3*, hereafter *Annual Report*.

6. *Census of India*, 1961, vol. XIX, Part II A, p. 42; see also *Delhi Statistical Handbook*, 1973, p. 25.
7. Interviews with Mr Prakash Krishna, proprietor, Rama Krishna and Sons, booksellers, Connaught Place, New Delhi, Mr S. Pratap, Katra Nawab, Delhi, and others, 18 September 1979.
8. This account of the refugees' plight is based on *Resurgent Punjab* published by Public Relations Department, Panjab, 1956, U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation* (Publications Division, 1967), and interviews.
9. M. K. Gandhi, *Delhi Diary* (Prayer speeches, 10.9.47 to 30.1.48).
10. *Annual Report* (Aug. 1947–8), p. 44.
11. *Delhi Census Handbook*, 1951, p. LXIII.
12. Ibid., p. LXIV.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. LXV.
15. Ibid., p. LXV–I.
16. Ibid., p. 124.
17. Ibid., p. LXVI.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p. LXVII.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p. XXIII.
22. Ibid.
23. *Annual Report* (Sept. 1947–Aug. 1948), p. 20.
24. *Annual Report* (April 1948 to Aug. 1948), p. 60.
25. Ibid., p. 35.
26. *Annual Report (1952–1953)*, pp. 32 and 9.
27. *Annual Report (1957–58)*, Table 17.
28. *Annual Report (1957–58)*, p. 61.
29. U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation*, p. 68.
30. Ibid.
31. Asok Mitra, *Delhi, Capital City* (New Delhi, 1970), p. 8.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 9.
34. Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. XX.
35. Stephen L. Keller, *Uprooting and Social Change* (New Delhi, 1975).
36. Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 56.
37. *Delhi Census Handbook*, 1961.
38. *Annual Report*, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, 6 Sept. 1947, p. 28.
39. V. K. R. V. Rao, *A Study of Kingsway Camp* (Delhi, 1955), p. 40.
40. *Delhi Census Handbook*, I.V., p. 168.
41. Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 112. See also Rao, *Kingsway Camp*, pp. 1–2.
42. Ibid., p. 20. This pre-Partition figure the refugees tended to exaggerate, but there is no means of verifying it.
43. *Delhi Census Handbook*, IV, p. 124.
44. *Delhi Census Handbook* (1951), A. V., p. 8 and Economic Table (Livelihood Classes–Displaced persons, pp. 14–18).
45. Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. XVIII.
46. Ibid.

47. This resident-*vs*-refugee problem has been discussed in A. N. Bali, *Now It Can Be Told* (Jullundur, n.d.).
48. A *katra* is just like a guild, a market with residential quarters and storage facilities enclosed by walls and entered through a gate.
49. Interview with Mr S. Pratap and Mr Om Prakash of Messrs Shiv Dayal and Kanahiya Lal, cloth merchants, Katra Dawab, 20 September 1979.
50. Interview with S. Kishan Singh, cloth merchant, New Lajpat Market, 24 September 1979.
51. Interview with Mr Prakash Krishan, Bookseller, Rama Krishna and Sons, Connaught Place, New Delhi, 20 September 1979.
52. Interview with Mr Madan Lamba, Partner, Volga Restaurant, Connaught Place, New Delhi, 21 September 1979.
53. Interview with Mr P. N. Bhatia, Proprietor, Kirpa Ram and Sons, Connaught Place, 21 September 1979.
54. R. P. Mishra, *Million Cities of India* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 124.
55. Ibid.
56. Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 126.
57. *Delhi State To-day*, Ministry of Industries and Labour, 1953–5, p. 5.
58. *Second Industrial Survey of Delhi*, 1964, p. 7.
59. Directorate of Industries, Delhi Administration, Delhi, *A Report on the Census of Industrial Units*, p. 2.
60. *Manufacturing Industries in Delhi, Metropolitan Area (1958–59)*, p. 14.
61. *Census of Industrial Units*, p. XXIV.
62. This information about Panjabi refugee industrialists has been obtained through the Panjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.

IV EPILOGUE BY AND ON AN OLD DELHI SCHOLAR

DELHI—THE 'STOP-GO' CAPITAL
A Summation

PERCIVAL SPEAR

In considering Delhi as an Indian city, it might be thought proper to begin with a discourse on the nature of south Asian cities in general. But this task can be left to sociological historians, to historical sociologists, or perhaps to the new race of conurbationalogists, all of whom are much better equipped for the task. Yet, when one thinks of Delhi, I suppose the thought of it as a capital or metropolis keeps breaking in. Delhi has probably been a provincial town and often an obscure city for longer periods than it has been a capital. And for long stretches of time it hardly breaks the surface of the historical record. Perhaps it would be well to begin by asking why this is so.

The factors governing the creation and growth of cities are numerous. Of course such factors have special relationships to the conditions of south Asia and, more particularly, of north India. The first of these may be listed as the climatic. A favourable climate may encourage development as an agricultural market or commercial centre; a harsh one could limit potential to strategic, religious or political compulsions. A city could be ruined by a change of climatic conditions, a fate which overtook the Harappan cities strung along the Saraswati when that river dried up. It is thought, I believe, that climatic conditions connected with a shift of rain belts, drastically affected Mayan cultural centres and indeed the whole Mayan cultural complex. The same was true of the rise and fall of Greenland in the European Middle Ages. But we may accept that such drastic changes are the exception rather than the rule. Delhi at any rate escaped them. We have, so far as is known, a typical north Indian climate with its alternation of rains and dry spells, its sharp cold weather and burning heat, its sun and its choking dust. Much was possible on such a site, but what exactly it would be depended on other factors than climate.

The next factor is that of geography, which, given a reasonable

climate, can be a vital growth element. A site in a corner, or at the end of a line, so to speak, is limited in its possibilities. So is one in mountainous or jungle country. Gorakhpur and Saran district were examples of the out-of-the-way places, while Rajasthan's cities of palaces were so sited that their growth was limited. In the case of Delhi we have a site well placed for communications, but not particularly so for defence. From it routes led to the fertile Gangetic plain, to the Panjab in the north-west and to central India in the south. The river Yamuna was more important for communication than defence. Until the canal era of the nineteenth century it was navigable as far as Delhi and was extensively used.[1] The low stony hills to the west provided possibilities of refuge (e.g. Suraj Kund) but only at the cost of a water problem through its distance from the Yamuna. Geographically, one might say that the position was in general favourable with some drawbacks.

After climate come the human factors, and the first of these is connected with commerce and industry. It is no use having rivers and roads along which to move goods if you have no goods to move. A demand for articles to manufacture with their raw materials, goods to exchange over long or short distances are needed for commerce to flow. Some artisans like weavers could live in the country and dispose of their goods in the city; agriculturalists growing crops like wheat, sugar and indigo, need a centre to collect, distribute and perhaps despatch their goods over long distances. Salt, extracted from centres like the Sambar lake near Ajmer was a perennial bulk article which had to be collected and distributed. And then there were luxury articles from the Middle East and Central Asia, and both early and later from Europe, passing from the coast inland or from the north-western passes down the Gangetic plain to the seats of wealth and power. Such activities required a corps of mercantile managers to arrange purchase, transfer and sale, and a group of bankers to provide seasonal advances, loans for long journeys and insurance. The actual transport was by boat down the Yamuna and Ganga—the cheapest and quickest—or by bullock cart and pack animal. A kind of north Indian Pickfords were the Brinjaris, a mobile tribe whose profession was the transport of goods. Until the British army organized its own commissariat, they supplied the needs of armies as well as of the civil population. Delhi had its share of these activities, but never, so far as I can see, a dominant one. Its accessibility to routes was shared by other sites like Agra or Mathura or Saharanpur. A place like Meeruth

in the Yamuna–Ganga *duab* was better situated as a focus for the production of that fertile region. There was little in the way of physical obstacles, so that there was really little to choose, on the grounds of commercial amenity between several centres in the area. Some other factor had to come into play, and this as will be suggested later, was the political.

In south Asia the religious element is an important but capricious factor in city growth. But in general the size of the purely religious city is limited. Banaras or Kashi has proved to be both long-lived and substantial; but here it must be remembered that with all its holiness it is also something more—a commercial and agricultural centre where two main routes cross. The same rule holds for Madurai; the magnetism of Minakshi's temple is supplemented by economic and political factors. But Brindaban near Mathura on the Yamuna is modest, peopled, as it would seem to the passing observer, mainly with white-robed widows. Puri, the site of Jagannath's temple, was until recently modest also, and so are Nasik and Hardwar. Delhi itself has but a limited title to holiness. The epic field of Kurukhshetra lies nearly a hundred miles to the north, the traditional locale of Krishna at Mathura eighty miles to the south. Delhi itself claims to have been the epic capital of the Pandavas, with the Nigambodh ghat as a relic of that time. Otherwise its temples are small and inconspicuous and its only other claim to sanctity is the flowing waters of the Yamuna, still used by milk-vendors crossing the river to top up their milk churns in the twin causes of religion and profit.

Some cities can claim significance as centres of clan or social groups. Some Rajput cities could make this claim. To the north-west of Delhi Rohtak is something of a metropolis for the Jats; and Pune could perhaps claim this title for the Marathas. But social no more than religious significance tends in India by itself to produce a large population. Perhaps it would be useful to consider some of the demographic aspects of city growth before proceeding to the last and most potent factor, the political. Climate and geography affect population only so far as they provide a suitable physical environment for a centre whose actual growth needs other means of stimulation. Commerce is important in city population growth. The merchants, large and small, the brokers, the bankers, the shopkeepers, all have their families, their servants and their workers for handling bulk articles. Then there was the servicing of the city's needs itself which might include a periodical religious surge at times of pilgrimage and

the needs of a court and its attendant followers. The religious factor, as previously mentioned, does not make for a populous city. *Pujaris* do not multiply and pilgrims come and go. A social or clan centre, like Rohtak, is a place to visit rather than live in; it is not in itself a magnet for numbers or wealth. Thus one is forced back to the general rule of religion for producing large numbers periodically but temporarily, and on trade and commerce to maintain a stable population and promote steady growth.

This survey brings us to the last factor in the growth of Indian cities—the political. It is this factor, which in a number of cases can be checked in substance though not, except in recent times, in numerical detail, which is mainly responsible for the mercurial rise and subsidence of many Indian towns. The reason for this is that a capital was not only the residence for the raja or shah, but a centre for his nobles and their followers and for the armed forces and all their attendants. Every notable had many dependents as a matter of prestige, who in turn had their servants and so on. Service (*khidmat*) was honourable with the result that people would accept almost any terms to have the satisfaction of being 'in service'. The great man's retinue was the magnet which drew the surplus manpower from the neighbouring villages to the city. Then the army, both royal and chiefs' contingents, was prodigal of manpower. It was said that for every active soldier there were ten dependent on him. He needed his syce for his horse, his grass-cutter for fodder, his personal servant for himself and a whole train of others to provide for his military and his family's personal and physical needs.

This brings us to the question of service in the modern sense. All these people had to be supplied with food, clothing, military and civil goods. There was, therefore, whenever a city became a political centre, a billowing out of the service side of commerce and industry. Goods as well as food must be imported to supply this world of the court. There must be large imports paid for by the notables who in turn would draw their supplies from their *jagirs*. There must be small-scale industries to make locally items that were in demand. The size of the service sector naturally depended upon the size of the court and of the state from which it drew its sustenance. When the Delhi state was large, as in the days of the Sultanate and the Mughal empire, the numbers engaged in 'service' and in servicing naturally soared; they fell precipitously if the court dwindled in resources or was transferred elsewhere.[2] But it is not to be thought that the

'hangers-on', whether commercial or personal, sank into indigence in these circumstances. Power was not so much dissolved as spread; the returns from service of both kinds not so much dissipated as redistributed. When the dimensions of Delhi shrank after the 1756–61 troubles some of its power and much of its wealth was transferred to Oudh, to be eventually focussed again in Asaf-ud-daula's new capital at Lucknow. A little later the Panjab resources which once flowed to Delhi found a new centre in Ranjit Singh's Lahore. The cloud of court 'witnesses' was not only large and sometimes vindictive, but moved like a swarm of bees to those spots where the nectar of rewards and influence beckoned.

If it is now generally agreed that Delhi had no special endowment as a religious, economic or industrial centre, but depended for fame and growth on political factors, we have a clue to its vicissitudes in the long story of its partly known history. There is no trace as yet, so far as I know, of a Harappan or Indus Valley kind of occupation in Delhi, though the hillock of the Purana Qila might seem to offer a tempting site. Delhi's metropolitan history, so far as we know, begins with its identification with Indraprastha, the capital of the Pandavas. The four other recorded *pats* or inhabited places along the upper Yamuna all retain their names;[3] it would be difficult to fit Indraprastha into any other contiguous site in view of this fact. What were then the motives of the Pandavas in choosing this spot for their capital? One at once sees the differing viewpoints between the invader from the north-west and the organizer of an indigenous power centre. The function of Indraprastha was to look east, facing the Kuru power at Kanauj. The Yamuna ford at Delhi was more easily defensible than those to the north because of the hilly country close to the west bank. Forces could be collected to the south behind the Yamuna screen to fall upon a force crossing upstream to the flat plains to the north. Perhaps that is why the decisive battle of the Mahabharata was fought at Kurukhshetra, in the alluvial plain about a hundred miles to the north of Delhi.

From this time we have a long gap in our knowledge of Delhi both as a country town and as a metropolis. There is little evidence, literary or archaeological, for the continuous existence of the city and none for its eminence. Only remains of the Gupta period in the Purana Qila have so far been found. It is worth asking why the one-time capital should have suffered such prolonged oblivion. The answer, I suggest, is to be found in the geo-political facts of ancient

Indian life. The capital of an Indian state needs an agricultural hinterland with some commerce and industry to sustain it. If it aspires to be an empire it needs means of communication and trade routes as well, along which armies and traders can move. Delhi was not well-favoured in this respect; to the west lay the semi-arid Mewati country leading on to Rajasthan; to the east it stood on the edge of the fertile Yamuna–Ganga *duab*. It was a communication centre but no better than other sites more favoured in other respects. So we find the centres of Indian power tending to appear elsewhere. The Mauryan empire, whose base was Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, had Patilaputra for its capital, situated on the arterial Ganga and roughly in the middle of its domain. The Guptas had the same power base and the same capital. Harsha whose base was further west had Kanauj, which also served for various successor kingdoms down to Jai Chand in the twelfth century. Ujjain served for central India.

But what of the invaders? Between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 there were a series of these. The Greeks from Bactria only momentarily left the Panjab in their great raid towards Pataliputra. The Saka Pallava invasions it would seem were more in the nature of folk migrations, which passed through Sind to Gujarat and western India. The Kushans had a large Indian empire but throughout their rule they retained their central Asian interests. In consequence Purushapura (Peshawar) remained their logical centre. Delhi might have been a subordinate provincial capital, but this function, guessing from the remains found there, would seem to have gone to Mathura. The Hun invasions were destructive and confused and left no lasting state.

It was the Turks and Islam which brought Delhi back into history. Between A.D. 1000 and 1200 we have the rocky site of Suraj Kund and the fortified city of the Qutb associated with the Tomara and Chauhan Rajputs. The former, though it lacked walls so far as one can see, would seem to have been a hill refuge from marauders like Mahmud of Ghazni, who in fact sacked the not very distant Mathura.[4] It was notable for its temple to Surya (the Sun), its attached large tank-amphitheatre, and its irrigation works which watered crops to the west and provided water for the city. There followed the Chauhan city of the Qutb, presumably built when the insecurity of Mahmud's time had passed. It was more pretentious than Suraj and was said to have had twenty-seven temples. But a circumambulation shows it not to have been a great city, certainly not of the order of a Pataliputra. Rather it was a small state capital under the Tomaras and a provincial

centre under the Chauhans. The temple remains used in the Quwwat-ul-Islam do not suggest great size or opulence.

With Qutb-ud-din Aibak's capture of Delhi begins its real imperial age. It was not continuous, but rather an interrupted or jerky 'stop-go' process. The two hundred years of the Sultanate left a local and then a medium-sized capital for a hundred and thirty years. 'Stop-go' continued under the Mughals. Only during the declining days of the Mughals was it continuously in use as their capital. If there was metropolitan instability there was also site mobility. Both these facts pose questions and we may consider the second of them first.

We have already noted that 'Hindu' Delhi occupied three known sites, two several miles away from the first of them. Under the Muslims the process continued, so that instead of the traditional seven cities one can distinguish up to twelve sites, a little more or less according to one's idea of what constitutes a separate city.[5] One motive for siting was security. This accounted for Suraj Kund, the Qutb and Tughluqabad. Another was dynastic pride, the desire to leave a name behind; and this motive could integrate with the first one. A third motive was that of health. In the long sultry summer period cooling breezes were the chief natural means of refreshment. The greatest heat came from the heat-reflecting stony hills; the chief relief breezes cooled or at least freshened by the river Yamuna. So the cities moved towards the river as security increased; they had to stay on the west or right bank of the river because the higher ground there was a safeguard against monsoon flooding. New sites tended to be north of the older ones as being more accessible to hill breezes. So we find Siri to the north of the original Qutb city, then a move to the river at Firozabad, with a later move north again to Shahjahanabad. At Shahjahanabad the noblest garden houses extended north again along the river bank. The British 'civil lines' after 1800 were again to the north of the Mughal walled city. New Delhi retreated south and inland but only after an unsuccessful bid to move north once more.[6] By then water pumped to the ridge behind the new city could be used to fertilize and freshen the area more effectively than Yamuna water or breezes.

But why did the new invaders fasten on Delhi as their Indian capital and in general retain it throughout their rule? They looked at India, of course, from a different angle from that of the Indians themselves. Coming from the north-west, they needed a bastion from the east and south. They had a firm base in the Panjab, which

they had ruled for nearly two centuries. Through it could move reinforcements, tribal, mercenary and individual, from the hinterland of the Iranian plateau. Originally, indeed, Delhi was a strong point or fortified outpost in the expansion of the Ghorid empire. But when the thrust to the east succeeded, Delhi became the natural centre of the Ghorid successor or state of Aibak and his Slave dynasty successors. There still remains the question of why Delhi on the Yamuna line, and why not Agra or Mathura or Panipat? The answer lies in Delhi's strategic advantages from the north-western invader's point of view. The northern invader swept across the Indus, along the corridor between the Salt Range and the west Panjab, and then between the Himalaya and the Rajasthan desert. The Yamuna line guarded access to this corridor. But it also gave access to the Gangetic plain to the east, to central and western India via Agra and Bhopal, to the Rajasthan strongholds via Jaipur and Ajmer. Sites further north gave less access to the south and south-west; sites further south were liable to be cut off from the north. Delhi was both a spring-board for further advance and a link with the power base in the north-west.

Time and circumstance modified these factors in certain respects without negating the overall advantage of the site, and experience of a move helped to confirm the choice. A big change occurred when the Mongols of Chinghiz Khan and his successors cut off the Iranian plateau to the north-west from the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth century. It thus became a self-contained Muslim kingdom dependent largely on its own resources. It was minority rule over a hostile Hindu majority. It had not only to face disaffection amongst Hindu chiefs down the Gangetic plain and to the south, but also the hostility of the organized Hindu bastion of Rajasthan. But for divisions amongst the Hindus, connected not a little with clan jealousies, the Sultanate's position would have been very precarious. In this 'tight' situation it was natural for the Delhi kings to look to the Panjab as their chief source of strength. With two centuries of Muslim control it contained a larger and more combative Muslim population than anywhere else within the Sultanate's borders. Cut off from the central Asian homelands, Turkish and Afghan immigrants equally with Panjabi converts were committed to the defence of the new realms as a matter of self-preservation. With the Mongol surge to the west, the Rajput fortress to the south and Hindu discontent within, the Sultanate was at first a beleaguered armed camp of the Faithful. In this situation Delhi became more than ever a convenient site for the

capital. Its manpower base was within easy reach; its less stable eastern half was under surveillance; the marches regions to the south and towards Rajasthan could be patrolled and watched.

If it is now accepted that there were good reasons for a north Indian empire, drawing its strength from the north-west, and exercising minority rule over an ideologically hostile and politically resentful majority, to choose Delhi as its most convenient centre, it still has to be explained why the Delhi regimes suffered from a stop-go process of imperial expansion and local contraction. The answer, I think, is to be found partly in personal whims and partly in changing circumstances. The former did not affect the principle of power concentration along the line of the Yamuna, but only varied the actual site a few miles to the south. The one big exception was the transfer of the capital to Daulatabad by Muhammad Tughluq.[7] But it was an exception which proved the rule. Muhammad soon found that he could not control the north from the Deccan and returned to Delhi wiser, if no less wrong-headed.

The other is more important, for it involved not so much the transfer of the power centre as a hiatus of power within the centre itself. It was not any internal contradiction about the choice of capital as such; it was rather a breakdown of the cohesive forces which had concentrated on a political point of power in the first place. India has notoriously been a place where centrifugal forces were strong; experience suggests that they were as strong in Muslim as in Hindu areas, though of course for different reasons. In the Delhi Sultanate the Muslim cause was upheld mainly by three different races—the Turks, the Afghans and the Panjabi Muslims—and by two principal Muslim religious sects, the Sunni and the Shia. The empire was a confederation of military fiefs rather than a bureaucratically controlled realm. The system, inevitable though it may have been in the conditions of the times, encouraged ambition, disaffection and military emeutés. So much depends on the energy and will-power of the centre that a failure here risked the break-up of the whole political edifice. The Sultanate survived breakdowns at the end of the Slave and Khilji dynasties by means of what were really military pronunciamentoes by military chiefs. At the end of the Tughluq dynasty the hiatus was serious, for it was aggravated by the devastating moral as well as political effect of Timur's invasion of 1398. Turkish power was broken up and Afghan power failed to replace it. Instead, three centres emerged besides that of the Sayyids of Delhi—the Panjab, the

Sharquis of Jaunpur and the kingdom of Bengal. For half a century Delhi was a local capital, barely able to hold its own against Jaunpur. Only when Daulat Khan Lodi of the Panjab seized it (1451) and later overthrew Jaunpur (1476) could it be described as an imperial centre again. And then it was an empire without much power. For it was weakened by the Afghan love of independence which made it more of an informal confederation than a closely knit state. The way in which Babur was able to advance as far as Panipat in 1525–6, with the aid of disaffected nobles of the Panjab, is an illustration of this.

From 1500 to 1750 we have a series of changes of site partly for personal and partly for political reasons. The vacuum of power was less than before; the movement of the power centre more frequent. There was always a reason for each change, but no change could affect, so far as I can see, the overriding argument that Delhi was, on the whole, and in the long run, the best centre for a north Indian empire. Sikandar Lodi moved his seat to Agra, where it still survives as Sikandarabad, better known as the site of Akbar's tomb. Nevertheless he himself was buried in Delhi.[8] Babur, after the battle of Panipat in 1526, hastened to Agra as the seat of Lodi power. It was his son Humayun who returned to Delhi, yielding to a new dynast's urge to found his own imperial city. This was several miles to the north of the old Qutb complex, but south of Firozabad, Firoz Shah Tughluq's fourteenth century city. River breezes were secured, however, by a curve of the river and by the height of the site. It was centred on the traditional site of Indraprastha. This became his palace citadel and is now known as the Purana Qila. Humayun's supplanter, Sher Shah the Afghan, completed the city so that when Humayun fell to his death soon after his triumphant return in 1555, it was Sher Shah's beautiful mosque which was close to him.

Akbar at first resided mostly at Agra and his preference was confirmed by an unsuccessful attempt on his life in 1564 when on a visit to Delhi.[9] It is at least possible that the desire to found his own imperial city, as well as the nearness of his preceptor Salim Shah Chisti, had something to do with this preference. From this time Delhi and Agra were regarded as twin imperial cities. The site was changed, or perhaps duplicated. But the strategic axis of the Yamuna remained. There followed the inspired aberration of Fatehpur Sikri. The later years of Akbar were spent partly in Lahore (whose fort he embellished) and partly in travel. Residence in Lahore was kept up by his son Jahangir until he moved, in a tented city, to the Deccan. Shah-

jahan moved back to Agra, where he replaced many of Akbar's buildings with his own until, in his mid-forties, he moved to his own new walled city, palace and Jama Masjid of Shahjahanabad. Desire for a processional way, which was difficult to achieve in Agra, was said to be one reason for the change, but personal and dynastic pride was certainly a motive also.[10] Akbar had built Fatehpur. He would build a city better and grander than Akbar's.

This Delhi hiatus lasted for about eighty years. One reason for this was the appearance of new strategic factors. The Mughal empire, unlike the Sultanate, included the trans-Indus regions of Afghanistan and Badakhshan. Threats from this quarter needed supervision from an area nearer than Delhi. The sixteenth century also saw the rise of the Persian empire of the Safavids, a peer in power and prestige to the Mughals themselves. Hence the imperial residence in Lahore of Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb. From the latter part of Jahangir's reign onwards, Mughal ambitions in the Deccan gave meaning to their use of Agra. Shahjahan was at Agra at the time of his illness and the war of succession in 1658; it was there that Aurangzeb received Sivaji in 1666.

A second reason for this gap relates to the migratory habits of the Mughals themselves. Turks of the Sultanate had enough time in the Panjab during which to forget their nomadic habits; but Babur and his *begs* came almost straight from the steppes and the wilds. Babur spent most of his adult life under canvas (or felt), wandering and fighting, ever on the move, more familiar with tents than palaces. These habits the Mughals brought with them. They expressed them in stone. Their palaces were petrified tents; their *khanas* or halls were *shamianas* anchored with sandstone and marble. They brought the art of locomotive life to a perfection never known before. Their camps were moving cities, so organized that they provided every luxury as well as all necessities, could move complete in a day if required or could stand stationary for months or even years. Jahangir used one of these city camps when supervising his Deccan operations and it was here that Sir Thomas Roe carried on his negotiations. Later Aurangzeb directed both his assault on the Deccan kingdoms and his Maratha campaigns from such city-camps. In fact the city-camp became the Mughal solution of the problem of controlling the Deccan as well as the north from a single centre. Aurangzeb may have stayed in the Deccan too long; his son Bahadur Shah spent his five-year reign constantly on the move trying to settle a series of outstanding

problems in turn. His camp was perpetually mobile; and he himself finally came to rest in Lahore only to die.[11]

Delhi had its next imperial phase from 1712 to 1761. The emperors became static; and a consequence was the virtual secession of the Deccan under the Nizam Asaf Jah in 1724. Once more Delhi was populous and prosperous. Monuments were erected, gardens and garden-houses laid out and built, the streets were thronged and tensions were rife, as shown by the shoe-sellers riot in 1738.[12] This imperial Delhi was engulfed in the Maratha and Afghan marchings and countermarchings which culminated in the third battle of Panipat. Thereafter Delhi became a provincial city again. For a time under Najib-ud-daula and then under Shah Alam it was the centre of a kingdom; for a few years Mirza Najf Khan's skill blew it up into a substantial centre of power. Then came the Maratha occupation (1785), political extinction by the British in 1803, and virtual oblivion after the Mutiny and Revolt of 1857. This hiatus lasted until the proclamation of Delhi as the new capital of British India in 1911.

The last and continuing phase of imperial Delhi began inauspiciously—with a bomb attack on Viceroy Hardinge as he ceremonially entered the city in 1912; quarrels of the two architects about the siting of imperial buildings, with a muddle about the site of the city itself, which led to the foundation stone being deposited some miles north of the old city instead of to the south of it; and the interruption of World War One which reduced construction to a trickle. The twenties were years of building, the thirties those of achievement. It was World War Two which converted a steady flow of city development into a flood. Government buildings and demands escalated, to be followed in the post-war years by a flow of refugees, commerce, industry and finance. The city which during most of the nineteenth century had had one or two hundred thousand inhabitants and, by the outbreak of World War Two not much more than half a million, billowed out to two-and-a-half millions soon after and to an estimated total of four millions in 1971.[13]

I would maintain that those forces which have governed the rise and decline of Delhi in the past broadly continue to do so now. Remove the political capital from Delhi and it would still suffer a drastic decline. The multiple economic and social agencies which today attach themselves to the government would go with it. Industries would remain, leaving a larger city than in the nineteenth century, but still a much reduced one. Such a possibility cannot be

permanently ruled out. The capital which was moved to Delhi to bring it closer to the hinterland of India in an earlier historic setting, is now a near-frontier city whose historic traditions may no longer or may not always be in accord with current aspirations. Cost and rival claims militate against any early change, but historic forces have a habit of being persistent if not always slow working.

The sociologist can find much of interest in the recent history of Delhi. Since the British occupation in 1803 the population has received many new elements. The old service groups, manual and ministerial, the commercial and banking interests, have been reinforced and variegated. In the nineteenth century, before 1857, there was something of a balance between Hindu and Muslim elements. The Kayasths, Jains and Marwaris were balanced by Muslim merchants and courtiers, while both communities found a cultural focal point in the Mughal court. Ghalib was flanked by Hindi, Urdu and Persian poets. The *gardi* of 1857 upset this balance, driving many *literati* to Lucknow and others to Hyderabad. But other elements came in, tempted by economic and technical demands. Foremost were the Bengalis who formed a professional élite and were reinforced, after 1911, by fresh waves of secretariat workers from Bengal. The intellectual and social life of Delhi at this time was one of tension between local *kayasth* and immigrant Bengali. After World War One, the Sikhs appeared, most prominently as contractors but also as merchants and workers. Then came the flood of post-World War Two migrations which turned Delhi, according to old Delhiwallahs, into a Panjabi city. The time has hardly come to evaluate the full effect of this drastic change.

Other aspects of modern Delhi accord with the experience of other Indian cities and do not require special treatment. The rise in population, the sucking in of villagers from the surrounding countryside, the proliferation of shanty-towns, are common to all Indian conurbations. Here children as elsewhere meet, not, as Tagore saw them, among the seashore of endless worlds but among piles of drain-pipes waiting to be laid and midst mounds of concrete blocks waiting to be hoisted. Disease, poverty, squalor, death in the streets are all part of the common Indian urban experience, arising from general rather than unique causes.

It may be thought that this study is lacking in precise detail and illustrative examples. The answer must be that over a period of nearly three thousand years, which is the span of this study, a great deal of

such precise material is necessarily lacking. It is only when we come to the Muslim period from A.D. 1192 onwards that figures begin to be quoted and descriptions to be given. For scientific exactitude we have to wait until well into the British period. However, there are some illustrative clues, samples of what once was. Ibn Battuta,[14] the Moorish traveller, who lived in Delhi from 1334 to 1342 in the time of Muhammad Tughluq, described the Delhi of his day as 'vast and magnificent', the largest city in the entire Muslim Orient. de Thevenot, about 1665, depending much on the first-hand accounts of Bernier and Tavernier, reported that Agra was only populous when the Court was in residence; 'one will meet with no throng but when the Court is there.'[15] 'When I say we consider Delhi void of all those I have mentioned, . . . and of many more still, it will easily be believed, that the Town is no great matter when the king is not there. . . . there hardly remains a sixth part in his absence.'[16] There were nobles with their large retinues and their families, some 45,000 troops with their servants, their own and the servants' families, the whole mercantile and manual worker establishment. If we allow for the numerous children, with deductions for unattached men, we might get a total of about a million. With de Thevenot's dividend of six the figure for Delhi when the Court was absent (*c.* 166,000) would not vary very much from the known population in the first half of the nineteenth century. Bernier from his own experience considered Delhi to be at least as populous as Paris in the seventeenth century.[17]

Francois Bernier's report can be taken as firm evidence for the size of Delhi in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. The city must have dwindled in size with his departure for the Deccan, but burgeoned again with the return of the Court after 1712. From that time there is much literary evidence for its populousness until about 1760. Though we may discount von Orlich's report of two million souls under Aurangzeb,[18] his estimate of half a million in 1740 gets support from the report of Thomas Fortescue in 1820, which speaks of 'persons now living who remember the times when the environs of the city boasted fifty bazaars and thirty-six *mandis* outside the walls.'[19] After 1760 the decline is testified by a number of writers including William Franklin,[20] who had personal knowledge; and Thomas Twining who visited Delhi in 1794.[21]

It is only after the British occupation that we begin to get regular estimates based on detailed investigation. The Court was now too small to attract large retinues; the thronging troops and bustling

mansabdar trains had vanished; only a few visiting local gentry and the faded pomp of a diminished Court were left. Delhi was now essentially a provincial town, a medium-sized commercial centre, and so it remained until 1912. But unlike previous centuries, we have figures to prove and to measure it. In 1820 an estimate of 150,000–200,000 based upon reports of Malcolm Seton and Charles Metcalfe, was reported by William Hamilton.[22] This was confirmed by the rough-and-ready estimate of William Fraser in 1820–3.[23] A. A. Roberts, City Magistrate, in 1847 gave a total for the city, the suburbs and the palace of about 165,000.[24] There was a declining after the Mutiny, but the 1881 census figure was 173,000.[25] Thereafter there was a steady rise to the 1911 census figure of 232,000.[26] For those who would like to examine the composition of the provincial city by community and occupation, there is a detailed description in the *Report on a Census in the Punjab*, published in Lahore in 1870. Further light on the workings of a provincial city will be found in Thomas Fortescue's and in other reports on the administration of Delhi and its territory around 1820.[27]

The case set out in this paper is that there is nothing mystical about Delhi as the capital city of India. In essence it was a city of moderate dimensions and pretensions, blown up from time to time by the descents upon it of the Court with its nobles and its troops, its merchants and workers. The reasons for these descents were strategic and political. Delhi's fortunes depended on the cogency of these considerations as applying to the circumstances of the day. The Pandavas needed a stronghold from which to face the Kurus; the Turks in the thirteenth century needed a bastion which the Panjab could sustain and from which the Gangetic plain could be dominated. The Mughals needed a place, somewhere about equidistant between Kabul and Badakhshan in the north and the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, a convenient watch-tower for Rajasthan and a gateway to the Deccan. As circumstances varied in one of these regions the capital shuttled between Agra and Delhi or took wings with its tents to a camp in the Deccan. At other times Delhi was a provincial city. As such the British found it and thereafter maintained it until 1912. Its last incarnation as a capital city had political motives behind it, motives which have since 1947 ceased to operate. In consequence Delhi is now an artificial capital in a sense it has never been before. Nearly a frontier city, it continues—and grows—partly for reasons of prestige, partly for fear of the expense of removal, partly for lack

of consensus on an alternative site, and partly by the dead weight of habit. These considerations are mainly negative; the city's continuance as a capital therefore depends on the lack of a strong case and will for another site. Such cases often arise in times of crisis, after being perhaps dormant for many years. It is then, with no positive case for continuance, that we may find that the glory of Delhi will depart almost as suddenly as it was thrust upon her in 1912. 'Delhi dur ast', once from a heavy-hearted emperor, but now from the heart of India itself. Can a political nerve centre, so close to the political skin of the state and so far from its sustaining social heart be considered in the long run either to be viable for permanent?

NOTES

1. *Punjab Govt. Records: Dehi Residency & Agency, 1806–57* (Lahore, 1911), pp. 184–5, T. Fortescue's Report.
2. A good example of the fate of a *ci-devant* capital not specially endowed for commerce is to be found in Jaunpur (U.P.). As the capital of the Sharqi dynasty in the 15th century it was said to be the most populous city in northern India. When I visited it in about 1930 it was just a charming country town, still adorned by surviving stately Sharqi monuments.
3. They are Panipat, Sonepat, Baghpat and Tilpat.
4. A.D. 1018–19.
5. The known sites of Delhi cities are Indraprastha, Suraj Kund, the Qutb, Kilokhri, Siri, Tughluqabad, Jahanpanah, Firozabad, Khizrabad, Mubarakabad, Purana Qila (Humayun's and Sher Shah's cities), Shahjahanabad, New Delhi.
6. The foundation stone was actually laid at the 1911 Durbar ground. See Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, *My Indian Years* (London, 1948).
7. In 1327. *Oxford History of India* (3rd ed., London, 1958), pp. 250–1.
8. See *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments, Delhi Province* (Calcutta, 1919), vol. II, pp. 37–8.
9. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. V (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 86–7.
10. See *Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, vol. I, pp. 1–2.
11. See W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 1–15.
12. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 257–63.
13. *Census of 1971*; *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1976, p. 744.
14. H. A. R. Gibb (ed.), *Selections from the Travels of Ibn Batuta* (London, 1929), pp. 194–6.
15. S. N. Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri* (New Delhi, 1949), p. 49.
16. Sen, *Indian Travels*, pp. 60–1.
17. F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656–68* (reprint, London, 1934), pp. 281–3.
18. L. von Orlich, *Travels in India*, vol. II (London, 1845), p. 4.

19. *Punjab Govt. Records*, p. 169, para. 201.
20. W. Franklin, *The Reign of Shah Aulum* (London, 1798), pp. 199–215.
21. T. Twining, *India a Hundred Years Ago* (London, 1894).
22. W. Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan* etc., vol. I (London, 1820), pp. 421–2.
23. *Judicial Letter from Bengal*, 14 Feb. 1832, para. 4.
24. *Selections from Correspondence, North-Western Provinces*, vol. I, p. 13.
25. *Delhi Gazetteer, 1883–4*, p. 150.
26. Ibid., 1912, p. 49.
27. *Punjab Government Records*, Chapters V, VI and VII.

PERCIVAL SPEAR'S VISION
A Bibliographical Note

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

More than forty years ago in what remains one of the best guides to Delhi, Percival Spear summed up the history of the great imperial city. 'Within this area,' he wrote, 'the heroes of the *Mahabharata* held their court, Firoz Shah erected Asoka's pillar, the Mughal emperors reached the zenith of their power and magnificence, declined and fell, and the British have erected the most imposing monument of their power.'[1] Although this book on Delhi came relatively early in his long career as a historian of India, the grand themes that were to dominate his writing are clearly articulated: the unity of India, and the rise and fall of empires, with an intricate interviewing of cultures that provides the enduring elements in the flux of time. Delhi becomes the natural symbol for such a historical vision, with modern Delhi as a palimpsest that is at once confusing and easily misread.

To the seekers for mystical India, hot for spiritual certainties, Delhi gives a dusty answer. It is clearly for them not the 'real India', of which they have heard from their swamis and gurus; for that real India they must travel to the *ashrams*, inhabited by westerners, at Vrindavan, Banaras and Pune. Nor is the Delhi of 1857, familiar to those who have learned the topography of imperial heroism, easily found. It is hard, even on a July day, to replace the schools, factories, and multi-storied flats with the perilous wastelands of the legendary stories of heroism. The mutiny monument still dominates the Ridge, but the new Hindi inscription explains that the true heroes were, in fact, those that the English inscriptions speak of as the enemy. Other splendid monuments, the great tombs, mosques, and forts, seem to speak undeniably of the conquest and triumphs of the Turkish invaders and their Islamic faith; but a recent and by no means unlearned if obscurantist school of historians, has claimed them as part of the pre-Islamic Hindu inheritance.[2]

Divergent historiographical approaches are inevitable in all national histories, but by the time Spear began his career as a professional historian, intellectual developments had made the writing of Indian history peculiarly difficult. A fundamental problem was not, as often alleged, the lack of primary materials so much as the lack of primary research. The historians of India at that time had few of the specialized studies that are commonplace for the history of Europe or, indeed, of China and Japan. Instead, four quite distinct biases dominated historical writing, much of which tended to be surveys that were wide-ranging in time and place. One of these biases was related to the western imperial experience in India. Writers with this bias provided the foundation research for most modern work on Indian history, and however great their achievement, their emphasis was inevitably on the rise, expansion, and fulfilment of British rule in India.[3] It was extraordinarily difficult for anyone who had shared in that process—as did almost all the significant historians—not in some fashion to write with a sense of destiny and design. Another bias came from Indian historians. Drawing upon the methodologies and the metaphors of these nineteenth-century historians but moving in a different direction, Indian historians who were rooted by faith and culture in the Hindu ethos found in the Indian historical experience classical ages, periods of renaissance, and reformation as well as dark ages. With few exceptions, the periods of creative glory precede the twelfth century, that is, the Islamic intrusion.[4] In contrast, and as if writing the history of a different society, other historians depicting the great achievements of the Islamic rulers mourned the irreparable loss suffered with their decline.[5] Then finally writers of a self-conscious nationalism attempted to subsume these contradictory visions of India in a synthesis that denied tensions and divisions.[6]

It is against the background of these varied forms of historiography, unsatisfactory in their understanding of historical development and lacking precision, that Spear's achievement as a historian must be seen. In general histories, monographs and articles, he created an interpretation of Indian history that has profoundly affected not only the writing of Indian history in the past forty years, but perhaps more importantly, the understanding of the historical process of the subcontinent by those who are not professional historians. This achievement was partly because he is a unique phenomenon among writers on India: he has managed to be interesting without the dramatic and colourful distortions that seem, for some reason, to be the necessary

ingredient for readable books on India.[7] But a more fundamental reason is that throughout his works he has a number of themes to which he returns again and again, and they are used to present, in the general histories, an overall sketch of the civilization, and in the monographs and articles, detailed pictures.

Many of these themes were given above in the quotation from *Delhi: A Historical Sketch*. Over-arching all of Spear's writings, linking the detailed studies and the general histories, is a concern for the meeting of cultures, the ways in which alien civilizations confront each other, and the adjustments, the compromises, and the changes that result. 'He who looks on the surface of Indian affairs,' he wrote, 'is liable to be baffled by the complexity of detail and the apparent incompatibility of rival interests and ideas.' Below the surface of confusing and contradictory detail, Spear probed for a force that would give coherence to the process of Indian history, and he found it in a combination of geopolitical and cultural factors. He frequently alludes to Delhi as the key of Hindustan, the nodal point for every power seeking to control the subcontinent. This geopolitical fact is recognized, he argues, in the Hindu tradition, which is 'an underlying faith in the fundamental political as well as cultural unity of India."[8] This unity, however, is 'as natural and Indian a conception as the balance of power, however often threatened, is a constant European conception of politics."[9]

It is this conception of unity, then, that provides Spear with the key to the meeting of cultures. In some respects, he is repeating Vincent Smith's judgement, so enthusiastically adopted by Indian historians who denounce his book as an essay on imperialism, that India 'offers unity in diversity'.[10] The difference between Smith and Spear is that while Smith asserted the formative and controlling power of an ideal of political unity, he appears to abandon it, and sometimes to deny it in the actual writing of his historical narrative. Spear, on the other hand, keeps the concept as the guiding line throughout his work. For him the nature of the meeting of cultures is determined by the existence of this ideal. It must be stressed however that in adopting this hermeneutic device Spear does not use it as an escape from rigorous thinking, in the fashion of those who speak of Indian civilization's ability to 'absorb' other cultures. On the contrary, he sees the ideal of unity as producing strains and stresses that at times become intolerable, leading to such dramatic traumas as partition in 1947.

Spear's acceptance and use of this ideal of unity can become the central point of criticism of his work, for its validity depends first of all upon whether or not such an ideal does exist in Indian thought, and, more crucially, whether or not in fact it has played a decisive role in India's historical development. Here one is confronted with the grand—and boring—debate over the role of ideas in history as well as by the need for a very close reading of fugitive source material. It is probably fair to say that Spear asserts the primacy of the idea of unity for Indian historical development without providing a theoretical framework. What he does instead is demonstrate the complex adjustment of intrusive political and cultural systems to the basic structures of Indian society.

The book in which Spear gave the most sustained attention to the phenomenon of cultural adoption and adjustment is *India, Pakistan and the West*. No other general survey approaches this superb essay in its analysis of the meeting of cultures that took place in the nineteenth century. It is one of the very few works on Indian history, whether written by Indians or foreigners, that conveys the sense of immediacy, of a deeply-knowledgeable observer who is also a committed participant. Why this quality is lacking in Indian historical writing deserves serious investigation, but here it can only be noted.

In *India, Pakistan and the West*, Spear elaborates the theme that the 'British power was a mere outward panoply, but the ideas which the British brought with them, or, as may perhaps be more accurately said, let loose in the country, set forth a ferment in the minds of Indians themselves, where contrary ideas warring against each other generated incalculable forces.'[11] The physical and cultural setting for this ferment is sketched in a series of brief decisive chapters. He sees the geography of India as both promoting and hindering its unity; it has encouraged rulers to strive for control of the whole of the subcontinent but it has prevented the maintenance of empires. So in a balance of opposition that is characteristic of his literary style, Spear moved on to religion, and found in the landscape of the spirit the same pattern of forces that make for unity being contradicted by those that emphasise division. He concludes his survey of India's religions with a metaphor—another of his stylistic characteristics—that points toward partition: 'When the Hindu stretched out his hand for the sceptre, the Muslim cried out for Pakistan.'[12] The unity that undergirds the political and social structure making for a meeting of cultures in a creative synthesis is, for Spear, a concept, not a mystical

reality, as it becomes for many nationalist historians. The impulse towards unity and synthesis which he finds in the fabric of Indian civilization can always be challenged and deflected by other potent concepts. Of these, religion is the most enduring and powerful. So he saw Akbar's conquests as having created a truly Indian empire, 'which Hindus could accept without reserve', but which was destroyed when Aurangzeb lost the sympathy of the Hindu masses.[13] Spear's reinforcement of his point by citing the Edict of Nantes is a reminder of another of his stylistic devices, analogies with European history, and one that is sometimes, as in this case, probably misleading.

The interpretation of Aurangzeb's rule as having destroyed the empire through arousing Hindu antagonism antedated Spear, but his writing has greatly reinforced it. It is no longer a satisfactory explanation of the empire's decay, but it is hard at times to escape the impelling force of Spear's analogies and metaphors.

It is under the general rubric of the concept of unity and synthesis that Spear summarises the decay of Mughal power. The Marathas were 'a near imperial race', with all the abilities needed to recreate Indian unity except 'imagination and the ability to handle others'.[14] Here he is looking forward to another imperial power, the British, who were to be 'the residuary legatees', as Spear put it in another book, of 'the unclaimed state of Hindustan'.[15] The intrusion of the British is also related to the unity concept through Spear's use of another metaphor: that the failure of the Marathas led to a political vacuum which drew the British, as the one stable power in India, 'as a magnet draws iron'.[16] The metaphor has persuasive power only when coupled with the belief that there is within Indian society a compulsion towards political unity. Another reading of the eighteenth century sees the emergence of British power as the result of its establishment as a regional power with special advantages accruing, because of the particular moment in world history, from having a territorial base in Bengal.[17] Spear elsewhere suggests, almost incidentally, that an imperial power that attempts to use Bengal as its centre is almost certainly doomed to failure. Bengal lies open to the conqueror, but its climate, its rivers and rains have combined to give it an atmosphere which envelopes each conqueror, creating a temperament which sooner or later is caught by all who stay there.[18] While there is always a movement towards political unity and cultural synthesis, this is frequently challenged and rendered abortive as in the case of Bengal by other forces, in this case geography itself. Spear is not in any sense

a geographical determinist, but more than almost any other modern writer on India he insists upon the relationship of the physical reality to cultural developments.

Closely related to this concern with the meeting of cultures is Spear's continual awareness of the decline of empires, with a considerable nostalgia for vanished glory. This is, of course, a common theme in European historiography, and the romantic vision of many nineteenth-century travellers imposed it very early upon India. The most striking witness to this is the painting of the Daniells, although dozens of other artists depicted Indian ruins in a manner that evokes memories of Rome. Spear, however, rooted his perception of the decay of empires in the nature of the Indian landscape and in the facts of dynastic history. The downfall of empires becomes part of the process of change and growth that constitutes the Indian historical experience.

Like the theme of the meeting of cultures, an emphasis on the twin subjects of the downfall and rise of imperial powers runs through all Spear's historical writings, and finds its clearest and most persuasive statement in *Twilight of the Mughuls*, one of his most significant works. In this book indeed many of his persistent concerns, including cultural synthesis, find a place, but it is imperial decay as exemplified in the microcosm of Delhi that is the centre of his attention.

The great general question that intrigued Europeans interested in India from the eighteenth century onwards, was the cause of the downfall of the Mughal empire. In assesssing the significance of the downfall of the empire, it is important to remember that the Europeans who became the successors of the Mughals were aware that they were not dealing with the demise of some transient conqueror who flourished for a few years and then passed without trace. Spear emphasises that at the end of the eighteenth century the Mughal imperium still filled the public consciousness. The splendour of the royal courts at Agra and Delhi dazzled European travellers, but what was really impressive to the more thoughtful of them, was the completeness and strength of its organization. It was, Spear reminds us, 'the most effective government for more than a thousand years and could compare with contemporary states in Europe.'[19] We may think of the Mughals as foreign rulers, but Indians—and European travellers—did not; the administration appeared to be Indian. And equally significant, India seemed to Europeans to be much more Muslim, much more dominated by Persian culture and manners, than it really was.

For the British, the causes of the downfall of the Mughals had a special meaning. From the very beginning of their rule in Bengal, they were conscious that as heirs of the Mughals, they might be destined to follow their fate. 'With what energy and success can a distant delegated government like ours in the East,' one asked, 'hope to wield the sceptre of Hindostan, that sceptre which proved too ponderous for the ablest princes of Timour's race.'[20]

Living amidst the monuments of 'Timour's race', in a series of remarkable studies on the Delhi region from the end of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, Spear analysed the fate of empires through the decay of the Mughals and the rise of the British, with the Mutiny of 1857 providing a great set-piece.

In studying the cause for the Mughal decline, Spear was perhaps the first writer to emphasise that contrary to many accounts of eighteenth-century India the stage was not filled by 'weak-kneed or effeminate triflers'. On the contrary, there were almost too many vigorous able leaders, and it was a time, despite war and disaster, of 'exceptional energy and activity'. So for Spear the story of Delhi during the interregnum between the collapse of Mughal central authority and the assertion of British hegemony is not, as he puts it in one of his more striking images, of 'weaklings or mountebanks, creeping amidst deceit and subterfuge, but of strong men lusting for power'. Their fate, and the fate of India, was due not to weakness but to strength, of politics without principle.[21]

Spear's assessment of the eighteenth-century Indian leaders is echoed in a curious way in his study of Robert Clive whom he describes as 'a volcanic force and tangled personality with the lines of passion, of intellect, of values and of interest all crossed'. Time and circumstance, the fact that he represented an aggressive, expanding society, not one that was closing in upon itself, meant that unlike his Indian contemporaries he was able to play a creative role in the founding of a new empire.[22]

And so Spear moved away from the conventional explanation of dynastic weakness towards a deeper understanding of the nature of ages of social and political decay. (Even here, one is aware of how the metaphor of organic growth colours historical thinking.) Professor Athar Ali has recently argued that 'the failure of the Mughal Empire would seem to derive essentially from a *cultural* failure, shared with the entire Islamic world',[23] and Spear's studies of the end of the Mughal period point in the same direction.

Spear describes the struggle of the strong and able to control Delhi for its symbolic and material worth and he manages to invest the story with both significance and intelligibility. As the East India Company became a participant, the ground rules changed, however, and the Emperor ceased to be a useful symbol. At first he was an object of romantic interest, but then the royal court came to be regarded as an absurd anachronism. Spear sees in this a reflection of a fundamental change in attitudes, with the old respect for Indian civilization changing to criticism and distaste. Evangelicals and Utilitarians were united in their attack: 'Should so worldly a thing as the Mughal dynasty, and so useless an object as a titular monarchy, escape?'[24]

Spear's analysis in *Twilight of the Mughuls* of the administration established by the British in the Delhi territory, has been subject to revision and correction, but it remains the starting point for all later studies. The questions Spear was asking had to do with the economic condition of Delhi, how the territory was administered, and how the ruled related to the rulers. For his answers he leaned heavily on the accounts of Charles Metcalfe and Thomas Fortescue, Metcalfe's successor as Revenue Commissioner, as well as the settlement reports.

It is now fashionable to deny the validity of Metcalfe's famous descriptions of village communities, as 'little Republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves' but Metcalfe was not trying to make generalizations about 'India'. He was describing only the Delhi region, and he was not saying that villages had no relations with other villages, but rather that the Delhi villages had no essential need of central government except to protect them from the depredations of contending powers. This was the basis of Metcalfe's analysis of British rule in Delhi. The British do not possess the affections of the ruled, he said, and there was no reason why they should, as conquerors alien in colour, race, religion and manners. A system of justice had been imposed upon the people, and while it had given peace and order, it was generally spoken of 'with disgust, with ridicule, or with fear, but seldom or ever, with cordial approbation and respect'.[25] What was needed was a revenue system that would bring economic prosperity to the villager, while leaving him undisturbed in his customs and way of life. The villagers would then be attached by self-interest to the new power. There was a danger that a contented people might develop a free and independent character, but Metcalfe considered that it would be the height of folly as well as

of immorality to refrain from instituting a system that would make for the social and economic improvement of the people.

Spear's sympathy for Metcalfe's views is surely grounded in his own perception of British rule in India. A quotation he gives from Metcalfe can be taken as his own response, as observer and participant, to the grand imperial drama of British rule in India:

> All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. . . . If we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period . . . we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us; and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and exercrations, of mankind.[26]

This attitude may seem embarrassingly incomprehensible to those who hear a different drummer in the historical process, but no one who does not take it seriously, Spear seems to insist, can understand nineteenth-century India.

For the meeting of cultures and for the rise and fall of empires, this question of the attitude of alien rulers towards their subjects, and of their own place in the scheme of things, is a central concern for Spear, constituting another of the major themes of his writing. In almost all his general historical work, he frequently pauses in his narrative analysis to reflect on the way in which the rulers who were alien in culture to the people, lived. This is done, not to enliven the narrative with picturesque scenes, but as a means of probing, from a particular angle, into the adjustment, assimilation, and, no less important, the rejection of one culture by another. The emergence into history of the Rajputs is thus of special interest to him, for he sees them as descendants of invaders, possibly Turks or Mongols, whose assimilation into the Hindu system was 'the last creative achievement of the Brahmins'.[27] There is not much hard evidence for this assertion, but it is a brilliant insight, derived in part one suspects from Spear's overarching interpretation of Indian unity and the nature of cultural contact, but it makes sense out of the obscurity of developments after the eighth century of the Christian era.

This process of assimilation, carried out, Spear believes, by Brahmin leaders without any direct political authority but through a series of compromises and reinterpretations of the texts, was not a possibility for the later Turkish invaders. They brought with them their own religion and their own culture, and they could not be

assimilated as were the Rajputs. Instead, in Spear's metaphor, 'over the whole of Indian public life was cast a mantle of Persian culture.'[28] But underneath was Hindu culture, inchoate in its organization, but immensely strong in its resistance to the new forces. Its fate was not to be that of Christian and other cultures in other lands, which weakened and faded under Islamic hegemony.

For Spear, all of this is prolegomena to the relationship of the British to India, and in *The Nabobs*, a lively and entertaining, but very scholarly work, he examined English social life in eighteenth-century India. Just as he used Delhi as a microcosm of the Indian historical experience, the merchants and traders of the East India Company in the eighteenth century become a microcosm for the British experience in India. In his preface he says, somewhat misleadingly, that in the book he sought to describe only 'everyday life as lived by everyday men',[29] but what emerges is our best guide to an understanding of how cultures meet, as it were, on their fringes, not at their centres. From the periphery, they interpenetrate, transforming the elements that are adopted into something quite different from the originals. One of the clearest examples of this is English social life itself in India. One of the conventional judgements is that the British transplanted their homes and their social customs into India. This is true, in a sense, but one could not possibly mistake an up-country bungalow for an English house. Simla is not, by the wildest fancy, Malvern; the attempted echoes only enhance the differences. From the other direction, while the young Nabob might smoke his hookah like an Indian gentleman, as numerous contemporary illustrations indicate, the life-style is transformed. Either he sits erect on his English dining chair, wearing a frock coat, or he is wearing, as if for a fancy dress ball, a version of Indian clothes.[30]

Spear traces the changing relationships between Indians and the English through the eighteenth century with great clarity and skill. Almost complete isolation of the English in their factories at the beginning of the century gave way to easy social relations with Indians, characterized by their keeping Indian mistresses and, at least in their off-duty hours, wearing Indian dress. Then came a new kind of separation based on the new laws against official corruption and the growing influence of Evangelical religion. But there were losses, Spear argues, for,

> The days of corrupt Company officials, of ill-gotten fortunes, of oppression of ryots, of zenanas and illicit sexual connections, were also the days when

> **Englishmen were interested in Indian culture, wrote Persian verses, and foregathered with Pandits and Maulvis and Nawabs on terms of social equality and personal friendship.[31]**

The arrival of English wives in large numbers and the growth of English family life, had entailed a growing social distance that, coupled with official policy, led to the tragedy of racial estrangement. Few of Spear's historical judgements have been more widely quoted than this one, and more widely accepted. He had presented an argument, with great learning and in an elegant style, that appealed to both Indians and westerners in the twentieth century as they sought to lay the blame for estrangement on the founders and guardians of the Indian empire in the nineteenth century. Yet perhaps none of Spear's analyses requires more careful rethinking and revision than this one. Quite unwittingly, since of course he himself was fully aware of their achievements, his interpretation has led his readers to ignore the work of many later western scholars and administrators who had a deeper knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture than their eighteenth-century predecessors. The nature of racial estrangement and rapprochment must surely be sought elsewhere. Alfred Lyall, E. M. Forster, Kipling, and Spear, read together, begin to make sense of the pieces in the puzzle, and perhaps one will come to Aziz's conclusion at the end of *Passage to India* that knowledge and sympathy cannot bridge the chasm of cultural differences.

Spear moves to a consideration of other aspects of the relationship of the British, and, more broadly, of western culture to Indian civilization through another of his abiding interests, the introduction of English education into India. Here the focus is not so much upon the English as on the Indians and their response to the ideas of the west. He is too serious a historian to give consideration to the text-book statement that the British introduced English in order to provide their bureaucracy with clerks, and he summarizes with precision the wide, and somewhat conflicting, reasons for the decision to give government grants for higher education only to those institutions that used English as a medium of instruction.[32] On the British side, there were those who saw English as the mechanism for revolutionary cultural change. Some, like Lord William Bentinck, from a secular, utilitarian point of view, spoke of 'the British language, the key to all improvements'.[33] For missionaries like Alexander Duff, English was the engine to destroy Hinduism. But Spear points out, there was also the practical, political motivation of a reasonable linguistic medium

for the conduct of the administration. But English was not imposed upon an unwilling people; the introdution of English was demanded by influential Indians, of whom Ram Mohan Roy is only the most famous. They did so for two main reasons, both of which touch very closely on the question of the inner working of cultural contacts. One was very immediate and practical: knowledge of English was the key to material success. The other included this but went beyond it: the desire to use English as the key to the intellectual riches of the west. The result, Spear argues, was a release of mental energy, but, as he puts it in one of his memorable metaphors 'the grey clouds of utility blighted the prospect of intellectual renaissance.'[34]

Spear always links the specific issue of the use of English as the medium of education to the wider question of the impact of the west on Indian civilization. The fundamental error, he insists, is to neglect the Indian component in the equation, to fail to see that the real issue was how India, 'with her ancient ways and deeply considered philosophies' was to treat the new modes of thought that flowed in through her 'foreign controlled' and 'duty-free mental ports.'[35] His analysis in terms of a series of 'responses' is one of his readings of Indian history that has been taken over by numerous writers, with many who accept it as part of their own mental framework for understanding modern Indian history probably unaware of its origin. There was an initial and normal military response—that of the Sikhs and Marathas. Then there was a conservative social response, rooted in the cry that religion, both Hinduism and Islam, was in danger, that expressed itself in the Mutiny of 1857. There was also, and most fateful, a response of accommodation and acceptance. This was represented by very diverse movements—the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna movement among the Hindus, and the one associated with Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan among the Muslims. These movements, which on one level were characterized by an acceptance of western ideas were, on another, fiercely assertive of the legitimacy and value of Hindu and Muslim civilizations. They were the creators of what Spear calls the 'parallel syntheses' of modern Hindu and modern Islamic culture. Their political expressions were the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, spokesmen for two nationalisms (not nationalities).

The working out of these 'parallel syntheses'—Anglo-Islamic and Anglo-Hindu—provides Spear with a theme that dominates much of his latter work,[36] but which in fact can be traced as a thread through

his earlier, pre-1947 work. At the end of the story of the meeting of cultures, of the immemorial quest for unity, of the downfall of empires, the social role of alien groups, of the impact of the English education, stands partition, the working out of the complex mosaic of the subcontinent's history. The decay of Mughal power had left the Muslim community 'impoverished, divided, and directionless'.[37] The ruling classes lost their old status, with no middle class to take over positions of leadership. In religious terms, sectarian division into Sunni, Shia, and Ismaili, made it impossible to speak of Islam as a unified system. Without a political community to give substance to the religious community, many Muslims turned inward, rejecting compromise and seeking a revival of Islamic institutions as they had existed in days of Islam's greatness. This meant, Spear argues, a separation from both Hinduism and the west.

Spear's reading of the nationalist movement is that the Congress leaders prevented political rapprochment with the Muslims by making clear that co-operation with Congress meant absorption of the League. So, Spear suggests, Jinnah had no option as a leader but to move towards separatism. In the form in which it appeared in the twentieth century, separatism was a product of modern political forces, but its roots were deep in Indian political experience. Yet Spear, despite his sympathy for Islamic India, never falls into the easy error of finding Pakistan in India's Islamic past. This is the significance of his detailed reading of the negotiations and debates of the years immediately preceding 1947; no inner logic of history was driving events towards partition. To dissect the workings of politics—British Government, Government of India (for Spear the importance of the distinction is always clear), the Congress, the League—is tedious work, and does not make for lively reading. Even Spear, who can hold our attention through the mazes of eighteenth-century Delhi politics, sometimes falters in the story of 1944–7.

The trauma of partition was so profound for nationalist India precisely because of the existence of the concept of unity which Spear insists was a constant component in the structure of Indian social and political life. The end of the British Raj, the most successful attempt at political unification, thus had to be explained and understood.

The events leading to partition and the personalities that participated in it, have been studied in great detail and often with passion and obvious bias. The Indian nationalists had expected to succeed to the inheritance of the Indian empire; the leaders of the Muslim

League sought a state where Muslims could fulfil their destiny. 'Was partition inevitable?' Spear asks at the end of a general survey of Indian history.[38] Too good a historian to find inevitability a useful explanatory concept, he changes the question. 'Was Partition necessary?' In this form, the question raises very different issues, and it is an indication of the characteristic temperament that Spear brought to the writing of the history of India. He recognizes that when Indian nationalists speak of partition as a 'tragedy', they are expressing their inability to accept or understand the motivations of the Muslim leadership. Partition was only a tragedy if one is committed to the belief that the continuation of the territorial state as defined by the Government of India in the nineteenth century was the best guarantee of the welfare of the people of the subcontinent.

Spear's conclusion is that the necessities of history encompass the welfare of the people, which depends upon the organization of power and its administration. In the nineteenth century, the organization of power had expressed itself in law courts, the army, a system of locomotion. All this, Spear pointed out, served well enough in a stationary society; 'but other forces were at work and other ideas were knocking at the door, ideas which were to make all these arrangements appear to many as so many supports for reaction.'[39] An undivided India would, in effect, have meant the continuation of the old order, without the possibility of organizing power for development, which Spear argues was the great achievement of the Nehru years.

Spear's own achievement as a historian is illuminated in this conclusion. His writing is characterized by an acceptance and understanding of history, but he always sees that this is not the product of impersonal forces, but of the needs and passions of the rulers and the ruled.

NOTES

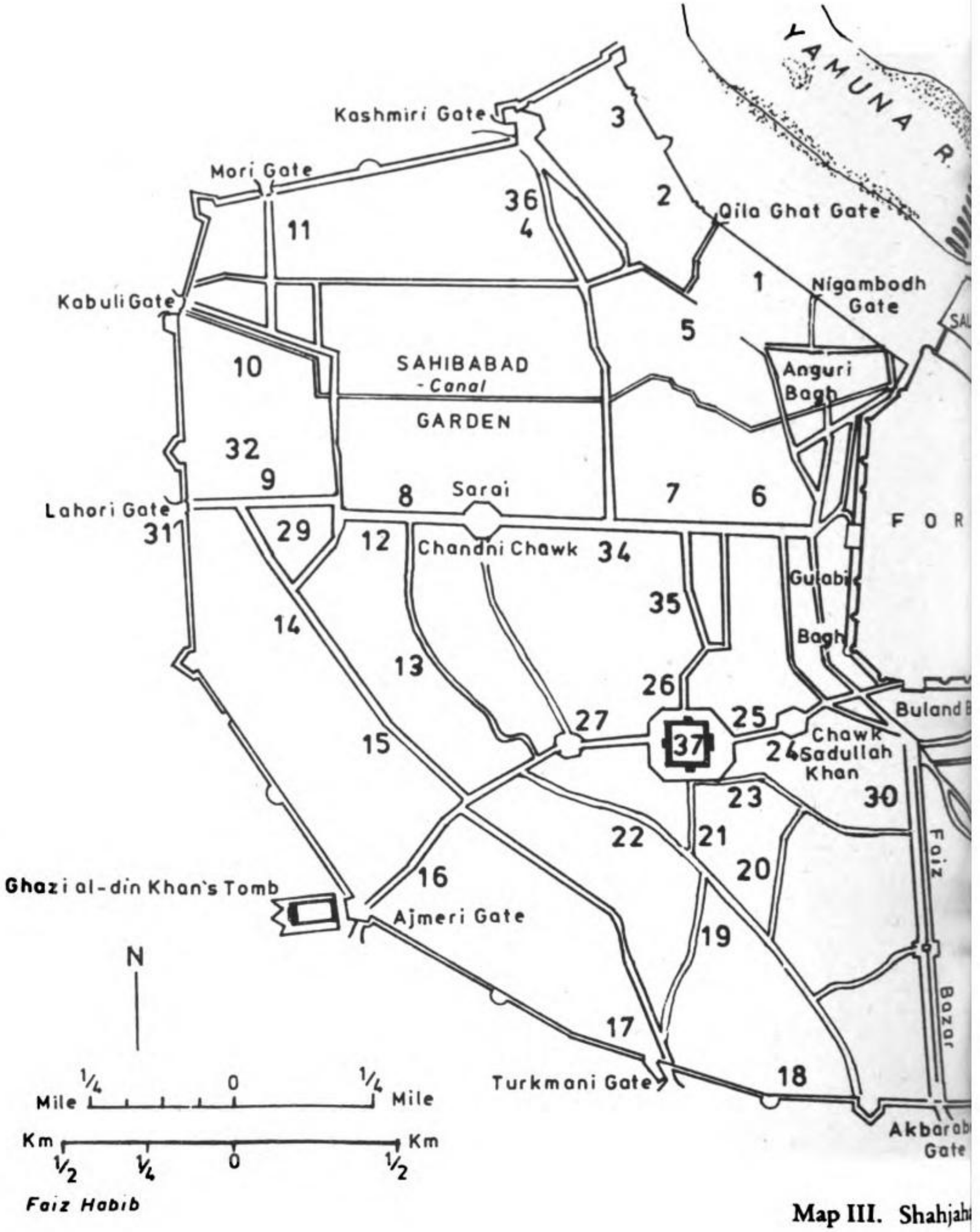
(Unless otherwise indicated, Percival Spear is the author of all books and articles cited.)

1. *Delhi: A Historical Sketch* (Bombay, 1938), p. 6.
2. For a recent example of the work of this school, see P. V. Hegde, *Ancient and Medieval Town-Planning in India* (New Delhi, 1978).
3. Two of the best of this genre were Alfred C. Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of*

British Dominion in India (London, 1910, fifth ed.); and Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London, 1934).

4. Understandably, but almost without exception, the historians in this category were Hindus (R. C. Majumdar, R. K. Mukerjee, U. N. Ghoshal, etc.).
5. I. H. Qureshi, Spear's colleague at St Stephen's College, gave this mood a definitive statement in his *The Muslim Community in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (New York, 1960).
6. Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, is a good example of such an endeavour.
7. Examples that come to mind: V. S. Naipaul, *A Wounded Civilization*, Dominique La Pierre and W. Collins, *Freedom at Midnight*.
8. *India, Pakistan, and the West* (New York, 1967), p. 3.
9. *Twilight of the Mughuls* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 3.
10. Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 3rd ed., revised by Percival Spear (Oxford, 1967), p. 5.
11. *India, Pakistan, and the West*, p. 158.
12. Ibid., p. 56.
13. Ibid., p. 67.
14. Ibid., p. 30.
15. *India, A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, 1961), p. 181.
16. *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 75.
17. For an elaboration, see Ainslie T. Embree and Friedrich Wilhelm, *Indien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), pp. 298 ff.
18. *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 23.
19. *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London, 1963), p. XIII–XIV.
20. Quoted in Ainslie T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (New York, 1962), p. 226.
21. *Twilight of the Mughuls*, p. 10–12.
22. *Master of Bengal: Clive and His India* (London, 1975), pp. 385–96.
23. M. Athar Ali, 'The Passing of Empire: The Mughal Case', in *Modern Asian Studies*, 9, 3 (1975), pp. 385–96.
24. *Twilight of the Mughuls*, p. 51.
25. Ibid., p. 97.
26. Ibid., p. 98.
27. *India: A Modern History*, p. 87.
28. *The Nabobs*, p. xiv.
29. Ibid., p. v.
30. This point is illustrated in the pictures in *The Nabobs*.
31. Ibid., p. 146.
32. *India, Pakistan, and the West*, pp. 103 ff. All Spear's general histories give attention to the introduction of English education.
33. Ibid., p. 103. Spear's essay, 'Lord William Bentinck: The Man and his Work', in *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernisation*, ed. C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainright (London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1976), pp. 9–30, is a concise and judicious appreciation of Bentinck's régime.
34. *India, Pakistan, and the West*, p. 105.
35. Ibid., p. 113.

36. 'From Colonial Status to Sovereign Status', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVII, 4, Aug. 1958, pp. 567–77; 'The Political Evolution of Pakistan: A Study in Analysis', in *Politics in Southern Asia*, ed. Saul Rose (London, 1963), pp. 33–51; and 'The Position of the Muslims, before and after Partition', in *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity*, ed. Philip Mason (London, 1967), are among the most perceptive studies of Partition.
37. *India: A Modern History*, p. 408.
38. Ibid., p. 417.
39. *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 88.



Map III. Shahjah

1. Safdar Jang's mansion
2. Dara Shikoh's mansion
3. Ali Mardan Khan's mansion
4. Lutfullah Khan's mansion
5. Majd al-Daulah's mansion
6. Shaista Khan's mansion
7. Raushan al-Daulah's mansion
8. Ghasi Ram's mansion
9. Habshi Khan's mansion
10. Sa'adat Khan's mansion
11. Ismail Khan's mansion
12. Haider Quli Khan's mansion
13. Shir Afgan Khan's mansion
14. Sipahdar Khan's mansion
15. Adinah Beg Khan's mansion
16. Qamar al-Din Khan's mansion
17. Muzaffar Khan's mansion
18. Mir Khan's mansion
19. Mir Hashim's mansion
20. Azam Khan's mansion
21. Matiya Mahal
22. Bakhtawar Khan's mansion
23. Ahmad Ali Khan's mansion
24. Khan Dauran's mansion
25. Sarbuland Khan's mansion
26. Ustad Hamid's mansion
27. Shahji's mansion
28. Sa'adullah Khan's mansion
29. Fathpuri Masjid
30. Akbarabadi Masjid
31. Sirhindi Masjid
32. Aurangabadi Masjid
33. Zinat al-Masajid
34. Sonhari Masjid
35. Masjid of Sharif al-Daulah
36. Fakhr al-Masajid
37. Jama Masjid

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